

Fictions of Disease:
Representations of Bodily Disorder in
Early Modern Writings

Margaret Jane Healy
Ph.D. Thesis
University College London
1995



Abstract.

This thesis explores the socio-cultural construction of disease between approximately 1510 and 1620 and pursues a better understanding of political and aesthetic deployments of bodily disorder in the period's writings. It addresses the issue of why the vocabulary of medicine featured so prominently in ostensibly different discourses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and looks closely at the representation of specific diseases--notably bubonic plague and syphilis--within literary genres and traditions in a pre-scientific world.

Two initial chapters explore the shifting representations of the disordered humoral body in early modern books of medical regimen and establish corresponding shifts in ideas about regimen in the body politic. This contextualizing approach is used to illuminate the period's literature of "excess" (improper regimen), notably Shakespeare's Richard II (1595).

Two subsequent chapters focus on the "plaguy" body and its densely tropological environment. Beginning by examining plague metaphors and their highly-charged deployments in the early Reformation years and subsequently, the thesis proceeds to revaluations of William Bullein's Dialogue against the fever pestilence (1564), and Thomas Dekker's The Wonderfull yeare (1603), Newes from Graves-end (1604), and Worke for Armourours (1609). These pamphlets are positioned within an English

plague-writing tradition, as sophisticated 'Warnings to be ware' which make politically specific points relating to the Reformation and to the plight of London's burgeoning underclass of the poor.

The final two chapters centre on the emblematic "pocky" body and its theatrical exploitations. Depictions of the syphilitic in Erasmus's 'Colloquies' are shown to have important shaping effects on subsequent representations. The analysis of dramatic deployments of the Pox in Nice Wanton (1560), Lewis Wager's Marie Magdalene (1567), Dekker's The Honest Whore, I and II (1604 and 1605), and Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (1603) and Pericles (1607), opens a revealing window onto the curious close affinity between the Pox and the Renaissance stage.

CONTENTS

<u>Textual Conventions and Abbreviations</u>	7
<u>List of Illustrations</u>	8
<u>Fig.1</u>	9
<u>Fig.2</u>	10
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	11
<u>I THE HUMORAL BODY AND THE ART OF PROPER REGIMEN</u>	35
<u>Chapter 1. Defending the "Castell" in "the haven health": the interplay between medical myths and socio-cultural contexts.</u>	36
(i) The classical legacy: humoral medicine.	37
(ii) Early modern regimen: the shifting language and emphases of vernacular books of medical regimen (1528-1607).	44
Mind, body and soul.	54
The body and its environment.	63
The body, society and the state.	68
(iii) Evil contagion: the occult moral universe of early modern England.	73
(iv) Reforming the body: the sixteenth-century discursive intertexture of medicine, religion, and the state.	76
(v) Some reflections on the "shifts".	84
<u>Chapter 2. Regimen and the body politic.</u>	88
(i) "A public weal is a body living ... governed by the rule and moderation of reason".	88
(ii) Improper regimen(t) and Shakespeare's <u>Richard II.</u>	102

<u>II THE "PLAGUY" BODY</u>	116
<u>Chapter 3. Representations of Plague: Pre-1580.</u>	117
(i) "The Plague, The Pestilence, THE SICKNESSE": the medical and social contexts of bubonic plague.	117
(ii) Literary plagues, the Renaissance heritage.	126
(iii) Plague Rhetoric and the Reformation: William Bullein's <u>A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence</u> .	144
<u>Chapter 4. Late Elizabethan and Jacobean Representations of Plague.</u>	188
(i) Shifting "Plagues": The topography and ordering of London's plagues (1563-1625).	188
(ii) "God help the Poore, the rich <u>can shift</u> ": Metropolis as social battlefield in Thomas Dekker's plague pamphlets.	205
<u>III THE "POCKY" BODY</u>	251
<u>Chapter 5. Sixteenth-century Representations of the Pox.</u>	252
Introduction: art and the new plague of the Renaissance.	252
(i) Medical realities?: early modern syphilis.	255
(ii) Ordering the new disorder: the functions of names and myths.	264
(iii) Literary and visual antecedents for the representation of the Pox and their sixteenth- century developments.	274
(iv) Erasmus's <u>Colloquies</u> : establishing the Pox's literary figurations.	283
Clerical hypocrisy and Romish corruption.	285
Syphilis and the family: confronting the "respectable" man of luxury.	292
(v) The harlot's disease. "Pocky" bodies in "godly" Tudor Interludes.	296

<u>Chapter 6. Jacobean Representations of the Pox.</u>	309
(i) Deployments of the Pox in Dekker's pamphlets: London's vice and the politics of prostitution.	310
(ii) Dramatic deployments of the Pox in Dekker's <u>The Honest Whore</u> .	319
(iii) Syphilis, debating sex, and sexual frisson.	335
Genesis and gender relations.	336
Woman in defence of Eve.	341
Syphilis and the art of declamation.	343
(iv) The dramatic function of syphilis in Shakespeare's Jacobean plays: disease, anxiety, and aesthetic empowerment.	347
<u>Measure for Measure</u> and the horror of appetites out of control.	349
<u>Pericles</u> and aesthetic transgressions.	355
 <u>CONCLUSION</u>	 371
 <u>Appendix 1</u>	 381
 <u>Notes</u>	 383
 <u>Bibliography</u>	 419

Textual Conventions and Abbreviations

All references to William Shakespeare's drama and poetry are to The Complete Works, Compact Edition, general eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

After a first full footnote, all references to primary works are given in the text of the thesis and in all cases these correspond to the bibliographical entries. Where early printed books are used, the original spelling and punctuation of the passages cited has been preserved, though short 's' has in all cases been substituted for long, and the omitted letters from contractions and suspensions have been inserted and are identified by underlining. The authors' emphases, in the form of altered typeface or underlining, are indicated in my transcription by underlining.

The following abbreviations are used:

OED2 = Oxford English Dictionary (revised edition)
STC2 = Short Title Catalogue (revised edition)
DNB = Dictionary of National Biography (1921)

List of Illustrations

- Fig.1 William Bullein, physician, woodcut frontispiece in his A new booke Entituled the Governement of Healthe (London, 1558).
- Fig.2 The Daunce and Song of Death, c. 1566, British Library, Huth 50 (49).

INTRODUCTION

Now, what is the cause of disease, or, whence arising
can violent illness suddenly blow up death
and disaster for humankind and hordes of beasts?
Let me explain: to begin, I showed above
that atoms of many things give life to us;

.....
And all this mass of pestilence and disease
comes ... from elsewhere, floating like clouds and
fogs.

(Lucretius [96-55 BC], De Rerum Natura, VI.1090-94,
1098-99)

1

Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die,
By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
In meats and drinks which on earth shall bring
Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
Before thee shall appear; that thou mayst know
What misery the inabstinence of Eve
Shall bring on men.

(John Milton, Paradise Lost, XI.471-77)

2

Disease--the dark side of life, hell on earth--is the
recurring nightmare of great fiction. Surrounded by the
profound political turmoil and intellectual ferment that
characterized the closing years of the Roman republic, the
poet Lucretius set about composing a radically new type of
epic with Nature as its heroine and atheistical atomic
theory as its philosophical linchpin. Purporting to be
driven by repugnance at the "vile and vicious" acts
perpetrated in the name of religion, Lucretius was seeking
to defuse the powerfully "subversive" charge which his poem
connects with priests' supernatural "fantasies" about
fearful occurrences like earthquakes and disease plagues
being "acts of god" (I.83,105,104,154). Countering such
occult explanations with material ones based on
observation, "truth and reason" (I.51), this accomplished
rhetorician embraced his vocation as Nature's oracle,

displaying all the fervour associated with ideological commitment, and deploying the relentless logic of Milton's Satan. Some 1700 years later at the end of England's only republic and at another moment of great intellectual ferment (the eve of the scientific enlightenment) Milton's insatiate thirster after knowledge--a type of enlightenment scientist, perhaps?--rises from the Tigris as a miasmatic exhalation "wrapped in mist/ Of midnight vapour" (IX.69-75,158-59) and proceeds on his pestilential course (in the manner of Lucretius's atom-like seeds of disease, "floating like clouds and fogs" VI.1099) motivated by lust for power and intent on polluting Paradise with his evil, contagious and intemperate desire for forbidden knowledge. Sadly, but predictably, the "inabstinence of Eve" will prove the key to his success (XI.476).

In fact, both Lucretius and Milton expound the medical orthodoxy of their times of epidemic disease discharging itself onto humanity from poisoned clouds and mists (the theory of miasma); and both appropriate "truth and reason" for their cause, deploying their interpretations of bodily misfortune, and their talents as rhetoricians and poets, consciously to criticize and shape the ideological fabric of their societies. Where they differ drastically of course, is that one desires to "justify the ways of God to men" (I.26) which involves a Christian, Providential and moralistic overview of disease (and, in Milton's view, an attempt to curb society's heretical thirst for empirically-based understanding); whilst the other sets himself up as a

"match for heaven" intent on trampling religion "beneath our feet" (I.79,78). Lucretius therefore insists on the exclusive validity of sense perception, and rejects as lies all religious interpretations of disease which he links to "terror and confusion" and political manoeuvring in ancient Rome (I.106). Undoubtedly Milton approved of Dante's relegating of Epicureans such as Lucretius to the sixth circle of Hell, with the heretics, in his Inferno--another text impregnated with the horrors of disease.

The juxtaposition of these epics does, I feel, help to foreground the socio-culturally constructed nature of explanations of disease and literature's important participation in that process: two major premises which have informed and shaped this thesis. Together, too, these poems raise fascinating questions which resurface repeatedly in the course of this study: questions about the dynamics of social and political instability and writings about disease; about the relation of categories of intellectual knowledge to power structures; about the strong and potentially manipulable emotions surrounding bodily chaos; about gender definitions and tensions and writing disease. The phenomenon that Susan Sontag has described as "the struggle for rhetorical ownership of ... illness" is rendered apparent by these poems: the diseased body can be a charged political site and the way people explain and write about it has important consequences for individuals and for social groups. ³ Indeed, any society's understanding and management of its disordered bodies is

constituted within a network of ideas, beliefs and interests involving religion, politics, economics, social control and medicine. Fictions of Disease attempts to piece together the textual traces of the ideological underpinning of "disease" between approximately 1510 and 1620, and ultimately pursues a better understanding of the political and aesthetic deployments of bodily disorder in the period's writings. It addresses the issue of why the vocabulary of medicine featured so prominently in ostensibly different discourses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and looks closely at the representation of specific diseases--notably bubonic plague and syphilis--within literary genres and traditions in a pre-scientific world.

ORIENTATION

Disease as a construct and medicine as myth

So far ... the assumption that disease entities are natural objects, has not come under frontal attack Medical categories ... are the outcome of a web of social practices, and bear their imprint Analyses of medical knowledge as a social construction are still neither common nor well known. (P.Wright and A.Treacher, The Problem of Medical Knowledge, 1982)

4

In the post-Foucauldian fall-out of the last decade or so, medicine's elision of its own discursiveness has, like that of science, "come under frontal attack" from a variety of disciplines (notably cognitive philosophy, philosophy and history of science, cultural theory, anthropology, sociology) with a force which the authors of this pioneering book would undoubtedly wish to celebrate.

5

Nevertheless, lay perceptions of medicine remain largely unchanged and literary criticism's response to this theoretical blast has been notably less marked than might be anticipated in the wake of poststructuralism: three recently published substantial books on Shakespeare, medicine, and disease, seem largely unaware of images of disease in literature as other than mood-creating tropes; of medicine as other than background information against which to read the canon; of the possibility of the presence of disease in texts reflecting anything other than "reality" (more allusions to disease = more disease in society).⁶ Indeed, ignoring the "constructed" nature of medicine and its disease paradigms inevitably leads to literary critical studies which juxtapose (yet again) medicine to literature providing lengthy lists of borrowings from one distinct sphere into another,⁷ thus effectively perpetuating our society's myth that medicine, like science, possesses a discrete and rarified form of communication. My thesis consciously strives to avoid this pitfall, a major part of its design being to provide an account of the complex interplay between discourses and texts about disease in the period under examination, including those texts retrospectively categorized as literary or medical. Apprehending diseases as not merely biological phenomena, but as unstable created entities shaped by social and cultural forces, is essential to this enterprise.

As the view of disease as a construct is still largely

unfamiliar territory in literary studies it requires further clarification. Today in advanced technological societies such as ours we are used to thinking about diseases as biological entities which can be detected with the aid of a microscope and as physiological disorders which can be located: effectively, as the sociologists Claudine Herzlich and Janine Pierret assert, "the discourse of medicine about illness is so loud that it tends to drone out all the others"⁸. But not completely, it seems, if we consider, for example, competing explanations of measles in Hong Kong in the late twentieth century. Hong Kong society is arguably at least as advanced educationally, scientifically and medically as ours and yet as the social anthropologist J.B.Loudon explains: most informants there when asked about measles viewed it not as a disease but rather as a "natural, necessary, inevitable but dangerous transitional condition", linked to "womb poison" affecting adult males, and resulting from intercourse with a woman within the ritually prohibited period of one hundred days after childbirth.⁹ Clearly, here, the traditional Chinese cultural understanding of measles was powerful enough to "drone out" the competing Western medical explanation of measles even though the theory of measles as a viral entity could be substantiated using available technology.

In fact Renaissance English humoral medicine offered a remarkably similar explanation of measles. In his medical regimen of 1593 the humanist scholar Simon Kellwaye described "the conjunct cause" of "measels and pockes" as:

... the menstruall bloud which from the beginning in our Mothers wombes wee receaved, the which miring it selfe with the rest of our bloud, doth cause an ebullition of the whole ... which matter if it be houte and slimy, then it produceth the pocks, but if dry and subtill, then the measels.

10

The "filthy menstruall matter", the corrupting mother's blood, had to be expelled from the infant's body and this was accomplished in the course of the "measels" or "pockes" sickness (f.39r). This cross-cultural comparison yields a striking insight: two cultures separated by centuries and large geographical distance can provide a remarkably similar explanation of a collection of bodily signs and symptoms (the link is possibly that humoral theory had its roots in ancient China).¹¹ In Hong Kong, however, measles in the 1970s was not popularly perceived as a disease--even though it had a high mortality rate--but as a "transitional condition", whereas in early modern England, described alongside smallpox and plague, it clearly was.

Definitions of diseases are, in fact, rarely just a matter of causative organisms; if cultural traditions participate in constructing diseases, so do prevailing fashions and lifestyles. The illness "chlorosis", related to the earlier "green sickness" and to current "anaemia", is an example of this from the nineteenth century. The medical historian Henry Sigerist described this phenomenon in 1943:

The latter, an anemia of young girls, has completely disappeared today. It has been attributed to the effect of the corset on the adolescent organism Chlorosis was the disease of the young girl of the upper classes who lived an indoor life without physical exercise, doing some needlework, playing some music and waiting for her husband to relieve her. It

was the pale ethereal girl, dear to the poets of the time.

12

Sigerist alludes not only to the lifestyle associated with the symptoms but to the illness's romantic qualities too-- "the pale, ethereal girl". Indeed, the poets mentioned here, who were no less enamoured of the tubercular victim, arguably played a role in constructing the disease's persona.

A century earlier another fashionable sickness, "The English Malady", had caused a polemical stir in Britain. In his treatise on the subject a contemporary sufferer and physician, George Cheyne, implicated the following in the production of this new disease's "atrocious and frightful Symptoms":

The Moisture of our Air ... the Richness and Heaviness of our Food, the Wealth and Abundance of the Inhabitants ... the Inactivity and Sedentary Occupations of the better Sort.

13

The melancholy stereotype of a century before appears to have helped shape this culture-bound affliction but the most fascinating thing about The English Malady is its relationship to eighteenth-century politics: the Whigs appear to have promoted the disease, citing it as evidence of Britain's economic success (a healthy constitution allowed more resources and time for self-indulgence), whereas, conversely, the Tories represented it as evidence of the country's decline and political failure. Here is another instance, then, of a "struggle for rhetorical ownership of ... illness".

14

Traditions, art, lifestyles, popular beliefs, climate,

economics, politics and medical theories can all, therefore, be shown to inform explanations of disease within a culture, but other less tangible and often less rational factors play a part too. Meyer Fortes is one in a line of ethnologists to ponder on E.H.Ackerknecht's point (1945) that to seventeenth-century European observers American-Indian medicine would not have seemed "strange or primitive":

Not only were such treatments as cupping, bleeding, purging, herbal remedies, some forms of surgery, and even exorcism, common to both, but so also were some of the associated beliefs and mystical theories about the causation of illness and the rules for healthy living.

15

This led, as we shall see in chapter five, to the Europeans quite happily adopting the Indians' cure for syphilis:

leaves from the Guaiacum tree. But how did cultures which had never intersected before have "beliefs and mystical theories about the causation of illness" in common? Shared myths about disease might arise, in part, from embodied subjects in different cultures seeking answers to the same or similar questions. A study of Zande witchcraft and magic carried out by the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard drew graphic attention to the questions Zande people ask when their bodies go wrong: "why me?", "why now?", with their corollaries of "am I myself to blame?" or "am I the victim

16

of attack from outside?". These are probably the same questions that the individual in our society asks on being diagnosed as suffering from a serious illness. Epidemic diseases, such as the recurrent outbreaks of plague in early modern Europe, prompted similar collective questions:

"why us?", "why now?". As we have seen in relation to Lucretius's and Milton's epics the explanations can be naturalistic or supernatural, or a mixture of both (as in the case of bubonic plague, circa 1600); and belief systems, morals and politics are all implicated in the chosen responses.

Indeed, many basic but important questions about human misfortune remain unanswered by science and technology, so we continue to speculate and construct myths to render things more intelligible and less chaotic. As the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss concluded in Myth and Meaning:

... if we look at all the intellectual undertakings of mankind, as far as they have been recorded all over the world, the common denominator is always to introduce some kind of order.

While, of course, myth is unsuccessful in giving man more material power over the environment ... it gives man, very importantly, the illusion that he can understand the universe.

17

On the basis of these observations it can be concluded, therefore, that every culture's system of medicine will be required to meet two ends: first to provide interpretations of bodily misfortunes; and secondly to attempt to control the underlying processes, to re-establish order. Meyer Fortes's work in this field has led him to assert that any system of medicine should be viewed as "an institutional apparatus of defence against the incursion of pain" and "the ever-looming threat of annihilation that is the human lot".¹⁸ Medical explanations can be "exopathic" (disease as

an external force of some kind by which the body is

invaded), or "endogenous" (disease as an internal disorder or derangement, a state of being out of step with the environment); in most cultures there is an interplay between the two and ideas about disease are part of a wider system of beliefs regarding contagion, pollution, sin and death:¹⁹ the myth of Milton's epic exemplifies this type. Furthermore, and as my exploration of humoral theory in chapter one will demonstrate, explanatory theories of disease are usually interwoven with ideas and beliefs about the relationship between body and mind, individual and society, man and his natural environment.²⁰

In the early modern period plausible narratives about "dis-ease" (human, social and environmental misfortune) in fact formed the bedrock of medical theory. As clear-cut divisions between lay and professional healers were not operative at this time, it would be anachronistic and a mistake to assume that medical understanding, and its textual inscription, were the privileged preserve of an elite body of university-trained and objectively-seeing practitioners: in sixteenth-century England the majority of interpreters of bodily misfortune were not learned physicians.²¹ Indeed, we might even conclude that attempting to separate medical writings into a distinct category--a practice inevitably encouraged by modern disciplinary boundaries--is a contentious and extremely problematic exercise when applied to this period.

Bodies, tropes and texts

The act of 'seeing disease' ... is socially coded in many complicated ways. To decipher this code one must be able to reconstruct the patterns that dominated and shaped the perception of the patient, the sufferer of disease. (Sander Gilman, Disease and Representation, 1988)

22

Discovering a methodology to guide my research--to enable me to "decipher this code" and to "reconstruct the patterns"--has certainly involved the hazardous enterprise of boundary crossing and becoming enmeshed in the marginal and tangled territory of bodies, tropes, and texts intersected today by a considerable range of disciplines. The work of cultural theorists of the body, particularly those like Sander Gilman and Mary Douglas involved in the interpretation of the more disordered aspects of its symbolism and representations, will be recognized as a formative force in this research. ²³ Without the insights, too, of early modern medical and cultural historians this thesis would have been impossible. Meanwhile, closer to my disciplinary home, the theoretical approaches of new historicism and its English wing, cultural materialism, will, I hope, be obvious as major shaping influences: in seeing literature as "part of history" and "the literary text as much a context for other aspects of cultural and material life as they are for it", and in foregrounding the intertextual network in which a literary work exists, I am ²⁴ indisputably flying the Greenblattian colours. My insistence on cluttering up the field with real bodies (as well as textual ones) is potentially problematic, however,

in a school of criticism which sees humankind as entirely constructed by social, historical, and, above all, textual forces: biologism is, of course, especially eschewed because of its association with dangerous prejudicial ideologies and social practices. Although I share the latter concern, I feel it is wiser to try to understand the way the sign systems of material bodies functioned in the past to shape social responses, than to deny their import: extratextual biology, marked and deformed bodies, pain and suffering, and the factual history of epidemic diseases, cannot safely or responsibly be excluded from the emotionally charged, murky terrain of bio-politics and medical morality that literature repeatedly enmires itself in (whilst its critics hie off to cleaner--less corporally-tainted--climes). Equally, this thesis will, where appropriate, consider the unfashionable and not unrelated matter of authorial intention (it involves acknowledging the existence of an embodied agent): I would agree with David Norbrook that to ignore the intention is effectively to depoliticize.²⁵

My thesis, then, attempts to reconstruct diseases and diseased bodies in their social and historical contexts, and, through examining the culture's fictions about them, to elucidate representations of them in texts and on the stage. Insights from the burgeoning field of trope theory have proven invaluable in helping to unravel, and at least partially understand, the complicated processes by which biology, bodies, social structures, culture, language and

texts interact. As described earlier, a major premise of this thesis is that medical discourses (and therefore interpretations of disease) constitute themselves through their intersection with other discourses; I would now add to this that tropological language features centrally in both exposing and understanding this process. Indeed, tracing particular metonyms, metaphors and symbols through discourses and texts is essential in marking out the most illuminating frame of reference or intertextual network within which to view the focal text: shared tropes function to foreground textual relations. This will, I hope, become particularly apparent in my discussion of William Bullein's dialogue which is densely impregnated with metaphors of pestilence and plague (chapter 3). Tropological language, particularly that associated with the richly symbolic medium of the body (as all disease metaphors are) has the power to disrupt stable meanings and disseminate meanings across domains (material, psychic, social) and beyond the boundaries marking a specialized discourse. So conceived, tropes are far more than stylistic devices to cajole the imagination into pleasure and to create mood: they facilitate understanding and reasoning, initiate hypotheses, and enable us to have a cognitive hold on the more problematic, intangible experiences of our everyday existence. I would argue that placing a densely symbolic body bearing the stigmata of its disease on stage (a curious but, as we shall see, relatively common practice in the Renaissance), equally has the potential to disrupt and

shape cultural meanings, to fashion responses and to negotiate social change.

SCOPE AND STRUCTURE

Which texts and diseases?

Fictions of Disease evolved from my MA Dissertation on early modern syphilis which set out to explore the strange but close affinity between the syphilitic form and Renaissance art (how was disease compatible with the pleasure principle?): Bronzino's Allegory of Love formed the starting point of my discussion which culminated in a reading of Shakespeare's Pericles, a revised version of which is contained in the final chapter of this thesis. This brief foray into the darker side of Renaissance iconography left me with more questions than answers; questions which helped structure this thesis, guide my choice of texts, and define the historical period for closest scrutiny.

The diseases which are without doubt most frequently represented in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature and art are bubonic plague and syphilis. Two of the literary artists who deploy images of them most extensively and organically are Thomas Dekker and William Shakespeare. I was keen to work on the drama and pamphlet literature of the early Jacobean period, so it seemed natural to begin the expansion of my study here. I wanted to explore the relations between generic forms and diseases; to understand why, for example, the Pox seems to have been a much more stage-worthy disease than bubonic

plague. I was intrigued to know if the signs and symptoms of bodies suffering from the two diseases shaped distinct fictions about them, and if so, did this lead to their deployment for different ideological purposes? Bubonic plague and syphilis are both epidemic diseases with a strong exopathic cause; how might representations of endogenous disorder differ? What might be the fictional and ideological remit of the imbalanced humoral body?: Shakespeare's Richard II--a play particularly steeped in images of humoral disharmony--immediately presented itself for examination.

As theorists of culture have demonstrated--notably Sander Gilman--the meaning of disease is always culturally and historically specific, and is informed by tradition: by previous representations. This understanding led me to confine my most detailed analysis of fictions of disease to approximately one hundred years prior to the first decade of the seventeenth century, but to be alert to literary traditions before this, particularly medieval ones. The period 1510-1620 also encompassed the two outbreaks of bubonic plague which caused the greatest mortality in London after the Black Death (1563, 1603);²⁷ this enabled me to study plague writings which emerged from actual plague contexts--an important consideration.

The textual remit of the thesis expanded as patterns, traditions and ideologies revealed themselves. Gradually Fictions of Disease evolved into three distinct but overlapping sections: the humoral body and the art of

proper regimen; the "plaguy" body; and the "pocky" body.

I. The humoral body and the art of proper regimen

Chapter one attempts to establish the dominant medical contexts for understanding disease in the period under study. It begins by exploring the classical legacy for interpreting bodily health and misfortune--humoral theory--and proceeds to examine re-shapings of the humoral myth in early modern books of regimen, a prime example of the genre being Sir Thomas Elyot's The Castel of Helth (1534). My aim (which I recognize can only ever be partially realized) is to understand how sixteenth-century men and women construed their bodies and minds, and the relation of their physical and spiritual selves to a changing world. The chapter then enlarges its remit to consider the wider intellectual and religious contexts for interpreting bodily disorder, concluding by beginning to address the perplexing issue of why the vocabulary of disease and medicine featured so prominently in widely different writings and genres of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Drawing on Renaissance books of political regimen ("mirrors for princes")--notably Erasmus's The Education of a Christian Prince (1516) and Elyot's The Book Named the Governor (1531)--the second chapter establishes correspondences between sixteenth-century shifts in ideas about the care of the individual body and those about the correct maintenance of the state. "Excessive appetite" is established as a densely symbolic medico-political concept

in this period with important implications for our understanding of the literature of excess, notably Richard II (1595). This contextualizing approach serves to position Shakespeare's play within the political debates that raged throughout Europe in the late sixteenth century between advocates of resistance to tyrants and champions of absolute monarchy.

II. The "Plaguy" Body

This section examines the plague-troubled years between 1510 and 1620 and explores the role of rhetoric, especially metonymy and metaphor, in both reflecting and shaping the meaning and the experience of that disease for the plague victim and the community. Chapter three begins by establishing the medical and social contexts of bubonic plague and proceeds, with the help of Thomas Lodge's A Treatise of the Plague (1603), to analyse the Renaissance cultural heritage for ordering and making sense of this terrifying and incurable affliction. In the second part of this chapter the densely tropological environment of William Bullein's A Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence (1564) is explored in the context of Reformation rhetoric and ideology.

Chapter four focuses on Thomas Dekker's plague pamphlets--notably The Wonderfull yeare (1603), Newes from Graves-end (1604), and Worke for Armourours (1609)--positioning them within an English plague-writing tradition and firmly amidst the capital's political arguments about the management of its "plagues", including

its burgeoning underclass of the poor.

III. The "Pocky" Body

Two final chapters centre on the emblematic pocky body and its theatrical exploitations. Beginning with a description of what might be cautiously termed the medical realities of early modern syphilis (its bodily manifestations, transmission and treatments), my study will proceed to an examination of some of the numerous early modern fictions surrounding the pocky body and of the stereotypes to which these gave birth. The significance of Erasmus's Latin Colloquies for later representations of syphilis in English has not to my knowledge been identified elsewhere and so the political and generic implications of the relevant dialogues will be discussed in some depth. Two Tudor Interludes, Nice Wanton (1560) and The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene (1567) will provide a focus for the examination of the relation between the Pox and doctrinal and social issues in the reforming English Church.

A final chapter will analyse Jacobean representations of syphilis. Recent discussions of disease and literature are bedevilled and severely weakened by the conflation of very different illnesses under the umbrella term "plague". In order to emphasize the differences in representations of this particular epidemic infection from those of others--notably for this period bubonic plague--I shall examine Dekker's deployments of the Pox in his pamphlets and in The

Honest Whore, Part 1 and Part 2 (1604 and 1605), enabling a comparison with his deployments of "The Plague". The chapter will conclude by focusing on the dramatic function of syphilis in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (1603) and Pericles (1607).

Fictions of Disease does not attempt a comprehensive survey of representations of bodily disorder in the period's literature; rather, through focusing on specific texts and diseases, it seeks to understand the cultural locations which promoted the complex intertexture of literary, medical, religious and political writings in the early modern period.

DISEASE AND LITERATURE: THE CRITICAL FIELD

As a more finely tuned account of the critical field is contained in the body of the thesis, only a brief introductory overview is given here; my responses, in the light of my research, will be found throughout the thesis, and in the conclusion to this study.

I am unaware of any substantial piece of research which addresses the issue of why the vocabulary of medicine with its explanations of disease features so commonly in a wide range of writings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. David Hale's (1971) encyclopaedic account of the body politic metaphor in Renaissance literature does, however, provide a useful pointer: Hale observes that the analogy between society and the human body is the most commonly used correspondence of the "Elizabethan world picture" and that in the Tudor era it is

used extensively to illustrate "the diseases of the
28 realm". The implications of this view would undoubtedly
have been abhorrent to E.M.W. Tillyard, author of the
influential The Elizabethan World Picture (1943), who
construed expressions of disorder in Renaissance
literature--particularly Shakespeare's history plays--as
manifestations of the Elizabethans' obsessional "fear of
chaos" (as opposed to reflections of any actual
turbulence), which "was powerful in proportion as their
29 faith in the cosmic order was strong". Tillyard expounded
humoral theory as epitomizing, and forming the bedrock of,
the divinely ordered universe which the Elizabethans
believed they inhabited and which they never questioned:

They had in common a mass of basic assumptions about
the world, which they never disputed and whose
importance varied inversely with this very meagreness
of controversy.

30

Traditionally, analyses of disease and literature have
taken place at the level of image and theme rather than
that of the body. Discussions of the function of images
from humoral medicine in literature have tended to centre
on the cathartic purge of tragedy; a trend encouraged by
Caroline Spurgeon's authoritative pronouncements in
Shakespeare's Imagery and What it tells us (1935) that
"Shakespeare ... thinks of evil as a sickness, an
infection, a sore and an ulcer", that "evil is foul and
31 diseased", especially in Macbeth and Hamlet. A radically
new body-focused approach to humoralism and Renaissance
drama is contained in The Body Embarrassed (1993) by Gail

Kern Paster which argues that humoral theory encoded a hierarchy of physiological differences thus reproducing gender and class distinctions.³²

Syphilis is recurrently described as the ultimate image of decay and corruption in Shakespearean drama; as the "word picture" that "illustrates" the Bard's world.³³ The prevalence of the Pox in his late plays is accounted for by the presumed sexual looseness and vice of Jacobean society;³⁴ and by the extent of the ravages of venereal disease within it: a view repeated in both Greg W. Bentley's Shakespeare and the New Disease (1989), and in F. David Hoeniger's Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance (1992). Syphilis is consistently seen as the generic handmaid of satire and its extensive deployment in the period's literature consequently reveals a vogue for that genre.³⁵ Most recently, the sexuality-conscious theorists of Renaissance drama have inscribed the disease as the figure of desire; and, in this view, sexual desire was "remorselessly" encoded (through its figure) on the Jacobean stage.³⁶ Sander Gilman has offered a rather different approach to disease and art forms in his important book Disease and Representation (1988). Heavily informed by psycho-analytic theory, Gilman's thesis is that images of disease in literature are projections of the human fear of "our own collapse", and "the finite limits of the stage, the covers of the book" serve to put a comforting "boundary" between us and the diseased-other represented in the art form:

In some cases, the fearful is made harmless through being made comic; in some cases it looms as a threat, controlled only by being made visible.

37

Early modern plague literature has received surprisingly little attention; indeed, it is common practice for critics to skip over the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries altogether. Leaping from Boccaccio's Decameron to Defoe's A Journal of the Plague Year, one article even declares: "After the Black Death the next major plague epidemic known to all is the Great Plague of London".³⁸ London's plagues of 1563, and 1603 (associated with a higher percentage mortality than the 1665 epidemic),³⁹ together with the lesser scourges of 1578 and 1593, disappear in such accounts along with the writings which emerged out of them. Repeating this habit of omission, Barbara Fass Leavy's To Blight With Plague (1992) places undue emphasis on Boccaccio's "influence" on Defoe, any native tradition of plague writing having been effectively obscured and occluded. Approaching plague as a generic term encapsulating widely different infectious ailments, Leavy sees its literature primarily in terms of dramas of the "self and other", and repeats the commonly cited list of its themes.⁴⁰ Herbert G. Wright's substantial and thorough article of 1953 established these as "mutability", "inhumanity" consequent on "terror", and social "disorganisation and demoralization".⁴¹ Alluding to the writings of Nashe and Dekker, he articulated the widely-adopted view that plague affords the opportunity for sensationalism: their writings are thus categorized as "an

offshoot of news reporting", "recording" the real situation
with an added bit of ghouliness to enhance the sell.⁴²

Nothing seems to have been made of Mikhail Bakhtin's attempt to politicize the field. In Rabelais and his World (English edition 1968) he proposed that plague creates exciting "new conditions for frank, unofficial words and phrases":

Life has been lifted out of its routine, the web of conventions has been torn; all the official hierarchic limits have been swept away.

⁴³
On a similar celebratory note (perhaps inspired by Millard Meiss's pronouncement that the Black Death led to a liberation in pictorial form [1951]),⁴⁴ a number of English critics, including Christopher Ricks, have accorded plague a positive, enabling function in relation to art:

art--in the face of the greatest horrors (plague, the slave-trade, the death-camps)--may be obliged by indirections to find directions out.

⁴⁵
In this rhapsodic liberal humanist view (not disassociated, I think, from the Romantic myth linking terminal diseases like the "white" tubercular plague with enhanced creativity)⁴⁶ art rises above the material chaos of human existence (certainly beyond the plane of political engagement)⁴⁷ shaping something enduring, "consoling", and transcendent in the face of horror and extinction.

This thesis tells a rather different story.

I
The Humoral Body and
the Art of Proper Regimen

Chapter 1

Defending the "castell" in "the haven of health": the interplay between medical myths and socio-cultural contexts.

Even as it is better to stande fast still, than to
fall and rise againe, better to keepe still a Castell
or Citie, than after we have suffered the enimie to
enter, to rescue it againe. (The Haven of Health,
1584)

1

A recurring motif from medieval and early modern writings is of the human body as a fortified (materially and/or spiritually), yet vulnerable enclosure--castle, ship, city or temple--threatened constantly by "enimie" incursions which can only be averted through sound and vigilant regimen. In the absence of empirical knowledge about the body's functioning (and of effective cures), elaborate myths designated as "medical" form a culture's "bulwarke of defence" against the disorder of disease which threatens the collapse of the individual body, and, in the case of epidemic disease, of whole cities and thus of civilized existence, too.² Medical myths such as these are intriguing constructs claiming to speak with an authoritative voice about harmony and strife, about the relation between body and mind (and/or soul), and about an individual's³ relation with his environment and with his society. They have a natural (though not inevitable) inclination to prophecy; and, like all fictions, each time they are retold they are subject to permutation, the story accommodating itself to the designs of its teller and the demands of its

time.

It is a premise of this thesis that analysing representations of disease in literature necessarily entails reading outside the canonical texts and attempting to reconstruct the cultural context with its schema for understanding individual and collective misfortune, pain and suffering, within which the writing was shaped, and the drama first performed. This chapter will, therefore, attempt to establish the dominant medical paradigms for understanding disease in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (What was the "enimie"?; How might you keep it out?; How could order be restored once invasion had occurred?); and will proceed to a discussion of the wider intellectual and religious contexts for interpreting bodily malfunction in this period. (See Introduction p.27 for a detailed outline of this chapter.)

(i) The classical legacy: humoral medicine

The roots of European Renaissance beliefs about health and disease can be traced to the writings of the first Greek philosophers of nature: the Pythagoreans believed they could prevent disturbances in the body and mind through submitting themselves to a strict mental and physical diet; lost balance could be restored by medicines from nature and by music.⁴ A later Greek philosopher, Empedocles, was the first to teach that the world was constructed of four elements: earth, water, air and fire. He saw the elements as in constant tension with one

another, combining and separating in response to the basic forces of Love and Strife: man and his powerful emotions could affect the environment (elemental nature) and an unkempt physical body could compromise the soul. Maintaining a balanced, harmonious state within the body⁵ and in relation to nature, was the basis of health.

Schools of physicians developed in the Greek outposts (southern Italy, Sicily and Asia Minor) in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, and many of their writings are preserved in the collection that was later attributed to Hippocrates.⁶ Importantly, the Hippocratic physicians largely excluded magic and the supernatural from their theories about the origins of disease: witchcraft, evil spirits and revengeful gods could not cause illness (Hippocrates believed a "god would be more likely to purify⁷ and sanctify [a body] than pollute it"). Rather, disease was construed as a natural process to do with an imbalance between the four cardinal humours in the human body (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile). Such imbalance was frequently triggered by a corresponding disturbance in the four elements exterior to the human body: excessive rains, winds, heat and dryness all took their toll on the human vessel.⁸

The theory of the four humours was further developed by Galen (born AD 130) and then by the Arabs, particularly Avicenna in the early eleventh century, and by the Salerno⁹ school physicians throughout the Middle Ages. The theory was very logical and seemed to account adequately for

observed effects. Each humour was related to an element: blood, from the heart, was hot and moist like air; phlegm, from the brain, was cold and moist like water; yellow bile, from the liver, was hot and dry like fire; black bile, from the spleen, was cold and dry like earth. Within the individual body one humour was felt to dominate slightly giving rise to recognizable "complexions": both personality and external appearance were related to humoral type. A predominance of yellow bile thus gave rise to the choleric temperament; of black bile, to the melancholic; of blood to the sanguine; and of phlegm, to the phlegmatic complexion. When the humours were balanced in quantity and quality the condition of 'Eukrasia' prevailed and man was healthy; if, however, one humour had come to dominate in an abnormal way, the mixture was bad, a 'Dyskrasia' prevailed, and the individual was sick. Eventually the humours would ripen forming a 'coction' and when they had matured, the polluting matter, the 'materia peccans', was expelled in the stools, urine, sputum or as pus. The physician's role was to aid this natural process of purging and rebalancing by giving the patient emetics, enemas, and bleeding him. His treatment would be specific to the patient's symptoms, complexion and age and would take into account the workings and state of external nature. Bleeding, for example, was more appropriate in some months than others and for particular complexions. Similarly astrological movements might be observed. Drugs and foodstuffs, as products of nature, were also felt to contain specific properties so

that, for example, a disease that was hot and moist could be cured by substances that were cold and dry. According to the Galenic model, body and mind, man and the elements were intimately associated and any one of these parts of nature could become disordered, transmitting its chaos to the others: the learned physician must be a competent natural philosopher, able to read the signs of nature in the macrocosm as well as in the human microcosm.¹⁰

Imbalance of the humours (an endogenous explanation of disease) was not, on its own, sufficient to account for infectious ailments and epidemic disease. As Lucretius's poem, De Rerum Natura, foregrounds, vested interests (rulers, priests) in classical societies had a particular propensity to attribute outbreaks of epidemic disease to gods seeking to punish recalcitrant human beings. In Lucretius's view potent supernatural explanations of disease warranted urgent countering with less terrifying rational ones,¹¹ and it was predominantly the latter type of explanation, derived from natural philosophy, that the classical physicians had favoured from Hippocrates onwards. Indeed, although practising in the Christian era, Galen had rejected its beliefs on the grounds that Christianity was not confirmed by demonstration; he grounded his theories of epidemic disease in observation and experience. A combination of commonsensical responses to obviously unhealthy places (those with high mortality and morbidity), together with humoral explanations of disease, gave rise to the classical theory of 'miasma'. From classical times

through to the Renaissance it was, in Galen's phraseology, the "putrid exhalation" from damp, low-lying places, drawn from the earth by warm south winds, which was thought to pose the threat of "ague". Stagnant pools of water and rotting corpses (especially after battles) similarly polluted the atmosphere: something in unpleasant-smelling air, a "corrupting influence" not observable to the human eye but accessible to the nostril, was held responsible for epidemic disease. The avoidance of unwholesome places and close, crowded environments during periods of epidemic disease was advocated on the basis of practical knowledge¹² and observation.

In On Initial Causes Galen postulated that the initial cause of infectious disease was something external--"seeds of plague"--which, impinging on and entering the human body, served to imbalance the four humours of certain bodies leading to incapacity and sickness. Considering other types of infection in On the different types of Fever, he described how, in op^hthalmia, noxious rays were sent with the psychic pneuma to be received by the receptive eye; in phthisis (consumption), the putrid air exhaled by a victim was inspired by others; in psora (skin infection) a thin exudate passed on the infection. The harmful effects of exposure to contagion could not, however, occur without another initial cause, unwise regimen. A healthy lifestyle ("appropriate exercise and ... a temperate life") could prevent infection. The opposite ("a life of ease devoted to gluttony, drink and sex")

13

predisposed one to disease with an exopathic origin. Care of the body and its neglect, leading to sickness, clearly had important moral implications in the classical world: even in the absence of Christian moral strictures, disease had a propensity to be a blameworthy affair, particularly if it was associated with a perceived over-indulgence in the pleasures of food, drink and sex. As Michel Foucault concluded in his examination of ancient theories of regimen:

... "diet" itself--regimen--was a fundamental category through which human behaviour could be conceptualized. It characterized the way in which one managed one's existence, and it enabled a set of rules to be affixed to conduct Regimen was a whole art of living.

14

Concerned with "a whole art of living", discourses of proper regimen are not confined to the classical physicians' writings but occur widely in treatises of moral and political philosophy, notably Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Politics. Sixteenth-century authors of medical regimens were keenly aware of this and, under the impetus of humanism, drew increasingly heavily on ancient philosophical and literary sources for understanding bodily disorder. This will be explored in depth in chapter three, in relation to Thomas Lodge's A Treatise of the Plague (1603).

Through analogy the classical model of communicable disease yielded a cognitive framework together with potent metaphors for explaining the transmission of negative properties (such as evil, tyranny and sedition) throughout society. As chapters three and four will demonstrate, the

related concepts, "plague" and "pestilence", function as particularly charged tropes in both classical and early modern political writings. The creation of mood and atmosphere in ancient (and, indeed, Renaissance) poetry is obviously similarly indebted to the physicians' accounts of disease, as seen here in Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses (1567): "First the Aire with foggie stinking reeke/ Did daily overdreepe the earth: and close culme Clouds did make/The wether faint ...".¹⁵ Descriptions of unhealthy miasmatic environments occur particularly frequently in Shakespeare's plays and poetry, often in contexts with negative moral associations. In The Rape of Lucrece, for example, Lucrece rails against the "hateful, vaporous, and foggy night" which has witnessed her rape, demanding that "rotten damp" and "poisonous clouds ... ravish the morning air", and that "exhaled unwholesome breaths make sick/ The life of purity" to match the injustice of the assault on her own body (ll.771-80).

From classical times through to the Renaissance, endogenous explanations of disease (internal disorder) combined with exopathic ones (attack from outside) to produce a model of infectious disease in which outer pollution could only corrupt a body suitably disordered and susceptible (physically and/or morally). The balance of the relationship was not, however, stable, and key elements within the medical equation--body, mind (soul), environment, society--could shift into a position of greater prominence or lesser significance, subtly altering

the meaning and implications of disease. As will become clear in the next section, health and disease constructs are shaped by, and themselves exert an effect on, other socio-cultural phenomena: discourses of the body are sensitive indicators of social and intellectual change. Whilst Hippocrates and Galen appear to have been remarkably assiduous and successful in their attempts to avoid supernatural and religious interpretations of disease, later physicians and writers (to varying degrees according to the social climate and their personal beliefs) attempted to accommodate the precepts of classical humoral theory to Christianity, which from its inception demanded recognition and inclusion in any medical model.

(ii) Early modern regimen: the shifting language and emphases of vernacular books of medical regimen (1528-1607).

This boke techyng al people to governe them in helthe ... Whiche boke is as profitable & as nedefull to be had and redde as any can be to observe corporall helthe. (title-page, Regimen sanitatis Salerni, 1528)

16

The Castel of Helth Gathered ...out of the chiefe authors of Physyke, wherby every manne may knowe the state of his owne body, the preservation of helth, and how to instructe well his physytion in syckenes that he be not deceyved. (title-page, The Castel of Helth, 1534)

17

Humanist translation, developments in printing and distribution, the growth of literacy, and anxieties about epidemic diseases (particularly plague and syphilis), all ensured the development and success of a genre of pocket-size vernacular medical books in the sixteenth century

which instructed the educated lay-man how "to governe" his body (maintain his "castel") in order to preserve or restore health. English learned physicians were, for a variety of posited reasons (ranging from professional jealousy to laziness),¹⁹ more reluctant than their Continental counterparts to disseminate medical knowledge in their mother tongue, but the gap in the market was admirably filled by a motley variety of scholars, statesmen, clerics, teachers and lawyers eagerly professing the civic humanist's desire to serve his commonwealth. The medical regimens are discursive texts (as opposed to collections of remedies or medical almanacs) which, as the title-page of Elyot's suggests, proffer knowledge about bodily constitution and functioning, as well as its regulation, and concern themselves with causes of disease as well as treatment.²⁰ As popular medical books they are,²¹ as Roy Porter has pointed out, "keenly time- and culture-specific" which makes them rich repositories of information about how early modern men (none were written by women) construed their bodies and minds, and the relation of their physical and spiritual selves to a changing world.

Thomas Paynell's free translation and adaptation of the Salerno physician Joannes de Mediolano's Latin verse with its commentary by Arnaldus de Villa nova, and Sir Thomas Elyot's English synopsis of "the chiefe" ancient "authors of Physyke" (notably Galen and Hippocrates), provided models for native regimens which many later writers self-consciously imitated. The cleric-physician, William

Bullein, declared, for example:

I have builded this little Fort, callyng it my Bulwarke. Not beyng able to builde any bigger woorke of defence, against sickenes, or evill diate: as that manne of worthie memorie, Sir Thomas Eliot knight did, when he builded his Castle. (Preface, Bulleins Bulwarke of defence, 1562, sig.C2v)

The physician-schoolteacher, Thomas Cogan, went further:

If they finde whole sentences taken out of Maister Eliote his Castle ... or out of Schola Salerni ... they will not condemne me of vaine glorie ... I have so enterlaced it with mine owne. (To the Reader, The Haven of Health, f.4v)

Both works were highly esteemed and proved popular:

Paynell's went through nine editions between 1528 and 1634 (if we include the plagiarized versions that omitted his name), and Elyot's claimed seventeen editions between 1534 and 1610 (STC2). Following a brief outline of the structure and content of these two early-sixteenth-century texts, I shall move on first to describe, and then to attempt to account for, the major sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century shifts in language and emphases from these flagship English regimens.

Paynell's book opens with a dedication to the "hyghe chamberlayne of Englande", the Earl of Oxford, which reads like a gentle sermon. Making the commonplace observation, "I fynde that men in tyme past were of longer lyfe and of more prosperous helthe than they are nowe adayes" (sig.A2r), the author proceeds to offer two possible explanations: the choice (and it is either/"OR") is between "our myslyvyng and fylthy synne", "OR ... our mys diete?" (sig.A2v). Significantly, especially given that Paynell is

a cleric, he favours and stresses the natural cause:

Surfet and diversites of meates and drynkes lettyng
and corruptyng the digestion febleth man Yll
diete (as me thynketh) is chief cause of all dangerous
and intollerable diseases: and of the shortenes of
mans life ... (sig.A2v)

Indeed, following the dedication, Paynell's rendering of the Salerno text is remarkably devoid of religious intrusion and biblical reference: its main authorities are Avicenna, Galen and Hippocrates. Medicine is represented as a pragmatic discipline concerning the corporal body and, as the ancient physicians would have approved, disease is construed as entirely the result of "putrified" humours caused initially through poor diet and habits and ungoverned emotions.

The Regimen opens with lists of doctrines to follow "if we desyre corporall helthe" (sig.B1r). "We" is apparently "unlerned persones" (non-Latin speakers, sig.A3r), but "specially noblemen" (sig.B2r). Three prime rules are continually restated: first, "to lyve joyfullye: for joye & myrthe cause man to be yonge & lustye"; secondly, to maintain "tranquillitie of mynde"; and thirdly, "moderate diete" (sig.B2r-v). The emphasis on "myrth" being healthful and mental disturbances (especially sadness) being detrimental to corporal well-being has both Hippocratic and Galenic foundations and a humoral explanation: "greate charges, thought & care ... drieth up mans body" (sig.B1r).

Mirroring its own aphorisms, perhaps, this medical regimen is characterized by a cheerful and optimistic tone as it proceeds to discuss aspects of daily hygiene

(washing, sleeping, eating), and to detail at some length the digestive qualities of various foods and drinks before considering the most suitable times to bleed and purge the body. Referring to Avicenna's "regiment of helthe", the reader is also advised about air quality: "the aier shulde be eschewed which is myxed with vapours of lakes and depe pittis conteinyng stynkynge waters" (sig.I4r). Overall, this early sixteenth-century regimen represents bodily functioning in very material, secular terms--it is about individual "corporall helthe"--with a medical concept of mind but not, notably, of the soul.

Indeed, the same can be said of Elyot's Castel which declares itself about:

... the Conservation of the body of mankynde, within the limitation of helth, which (as Galene sayth) is the state of the body, wherein we be neyther greved with peyne, nor lette from doynge our necessary busynesse ... (f.1r)

This is a very Galenic regimen informed by Linacre's new Latin translation of "the book of Galen, of the governance of health".²² It methodically describes the body's composition, listing and defining: "elementes, complexions, humours, membres, powers, operations, spirits" (f.1r). The "signes" of various complexions are given in some detail: the melancholic individual, for example, is lean, has hard skin, plain thin dark hair, is watchful, has fearful dreams, is stiff in opinions, timorous and fearful, is prone to anger, seldom laughs, has slow digestion, weak pulse and watery urine (f.3r). This is surely Hamlet's persona and, given the popularity of books of complexions

modelled on this one circa 1600, one wonders if actors playing this role had to appear lean with thin, dark hair.

Once the reader has established his own complexion, he must learn about "Thynges not naturall" ("ayre, meate and drynke, slepe & watche, mevyng & rest, emptynesse & repletions" f.11v) which are basically habits and rules to observe in order to remain healthy. Interestingly, when Cogan wrote his regimen he rejected Elyot's categories ("according to Galen"), making a point of following instead what he describes as the Hippocratic ones (exercise, meat, drink, sleep and Venus), finding these more comprehensible and suitable for "our English Nation" (To the Reader, f.4r): an emerging discourse of nation is apparent in medical regimens of the second half of the sixteenth century.

"Ayre", for Elyot, is the most important non-natural because it surrounds the body all the time; it is "corrupted" by stars, "standynge waters", unburied carrion, and "moche people in small rome lyvyng unclenly" (f.12r). As in Paynell's regimen long descriptions of the hot and cold, dry and moist qualities of food and drink make up the bulk of the text. He focuses, too, on the harmful humoral effects of depressed mood states: "There is no thyng more ennemy to lyfe, then sorrowe, ... for it exhausteth bothe naturall heate and moysture of the body" (f.66r). In fact this is one of a handful of instances where Elyot backs up a medical point with biblical authority: "Also in the boke called Ecclesiasticus, Sorowe hathe kylled manye, and in it

selfe is founde no commoditie" (f.66r). Occasionally, too, he demonstrates the wide range of his humanist scholarship, wittily illustrating a medical aphorism drawing on ancient philosophy and history--a practice which becomes increasingly popular in subsequent regimens.

Disease, in The Castel, is rarely a moral affair though Elyot does rail against the "contynuall gourmandyse ... the spirite of gluttony" which is tormenting "this realme" with "sycknesses" (f.45r). God enters his regimen only briefly in the appended section on pestilence where the author, finding no natural explanation why "stufte lyenge in a cofer shutte by the space of two yeres" (f.88r) retains the capacity to infect, determines that this must be an instance of "the powre of god ... above mans reason or counsell, preservyng or strykyng whom, whan, and where it shall lyke his maiestie" (f.88r). Nevertheless, avoiding "corrupt" air and partaking of "A diete preservative in the tyme of pestilence" (f.86v), are stressed as effective practical ways to prevent infection: maintaining the body in a balanced humoral condition is the key to health.

Both Paynell's and Elyot's regimens convey highly condensed and simplified versions of the humoral scheme of the body which was taught in the medical faculties of universities throughout medieval and Renaissance Europe. Ironically, at the same time as the authority of Galenic medicine was being consolidated by the labours of such humanistic physicians as Linacre and Caius, it was undergoing its most serious challenges to date in the

Christian European context. Not only was Galen's account of the structure of the body (based on the vivisection of animals) being undermined by Vesalian anatomy,²³ but Galenic physiology was being declared erroneous, unchristian and degenerate by a new breed of Paracelsian practitioner. Theophrastus von Hohenheim (1493-1541), generally known as Paracelsus, established his medical reputation and following through opportunistically publishing two short treatises on the anxiety-producing "new" disease of the Renaissance, syphilis, and advocating the mercury cure which proved so popular.²⁴ He declared Aristotelian and Galenic scholastic medicine heathen and obsolete (like Roman Catholicism); its practitioners greedy (like Catholic priests); and its cures ineffective--new diseases like syphilis demonstrated the need for innovative approaches, the whole concept and practice of medicine required radical renewal (like religion). His answer was to formulate a rival myth of bodily functioning which was intensely spiritual and informed by the mystical approaches of both alchemy and Neoplatonism, and which incorporated the belief that only Christian charitable physicians could cure the body's ills. The biblical Word--especially the book of Revelation--was virtually the only textual source acknowledged by this self-styled religio-medical prophet who stressed the importance of experimentation and observation and ridiculed traditional medicine's over-²⁵dependence on book-learning.

The Volumen Paramirum, an early work, explains how and

why human beings become sick in terms of five 'entia': the five spheres that determine man's life in health and disease. The stars, nourishment, environment, individual constitution and spiritual state, all influence bodily functioning.²⁶ As in the Galenic myth, diet and physical surroundings are, therefore, important, but the workings of the heavens and the mysteries of the spiritual world have taken on new or enhanced medical significances. The writing of the English Paracelsian, R.Bostocke, reveals the strong Platonic underpinning of Paracelsus's theories: "For all thinges good or bad, be derived and doe flowe from Anima ... into the body and to every parte of man".²⁷ Indeed, Bostocke maintains that Plato followed the "Priestes of Aegypt" in subscribing to this "chymicall" as opposed to "heathnish Phisick" and that Paracelsus had simply revived the art. In this system there are (since the Fall) "spirituall Seedes of al maner diseases, indowed with lively power" (p.80). Like the human body, all diseases are constituted of "Sal, Sulphur, and Mercury" (p.80) and they require cures which relate to the sphere of influence which contributed to the illness. The prized vegetable and mineral cures ("Arcana") are not, therefore, always useful, as Bostocke describes:

... if the disease bee caused by influences of the heavens, neather of the other Arcana will serve, but they are to be cured by Astronomy and influences. But those Diseases and griefes that come by supernaturall meanes, will not be holpen by any meanes aforesayde, but by supernaturall meanes. (p.90)

The essence of Paracelsus's "religion" of medicine is a "supernaturall" universe inhabited with spirits (and

unified by spirit), in which stones, roots, plants and seeds, all have "powers" accessible via the practice of chemistry, which can be channelled into the service of medicine by the true Christian. For this committed reformer a new myth of the body, and a revised medical schema, was an integral, essential part of the process of the renewal of religion.

The situation in the first half of the sixteenth century was one, therefore, in which the credibility of the established theory of bodily functioning was being contested by a radically-alternative model with profound implications for both medicine and religion. Furthermore a biological event (the new epidemic, syphilis) triggered the emergence of this rival medical authority: an interplay between religion, medicine and actual disease is detectable here. But what effect, if any, did this have on the educated Englishman's perception of his own body and its relation with others and the world? What other significant variables shaped sixteenth-century representations of disease? It is time to explore more early modern books of regimen. Their representations of bodily disorder will be approached chronologically under the headings: "body, mind and soul", "the body and its environment" and "the body, society, and the state". Appendix 1 contains a list of the medical regimens examined in this survey together with numbers of editions and authors' professions.

Body, mind, and soul

Having discoursed at length on the "Infection of the aier, and impure spirites by repletion" (f.20r) which caused the "sweatyng sicknesse" (a deadly form of influenza which broke out in England in 1551), the eminent learned physician, John Caius, concluded his regimen (1552) against the disease with the pointed statement:

If other causes ther be supernatural, theim I leue to the diuines to serche, and the diseases thereof to cure, as a matter with out the compasse of my facultie.

28

As a noted Galenist and Fellow of the College of Physicians, Caius is not denying the possibility of "supernatural" causes, rather, he is impressing on his readers that religious matters are the preserve of "diuines" and are "with out the compasse" of medicine ("my facultie"). "Phisicke" is for him a corporal business--as it had been for Paynell and Elyot--but there is a sense, too, that he is making a last stand against the visible encroachment of religion into his discipline: virtually all subsequent early modern medical regimens concern themselves with the health of the spiritual body, and with the primary cause of disease--sin.

William Bullein's Gouernement of Healthe (1558) supplies a striking contrast to Caius' position. Having quoted Galen on "distempered" air, Bullein proceeds to describe "certain stars called infortunates ... whose influence bringeth corruption ... & pestilence", and sermonizes:

Against the said influences al christen men must pray

to god to be their defence, for thei be gods
instrumentes to punisheth [sic] earth. Example, we
have of mortall pestilence, horrible fevers, and
sweeting sickenes, and of late a generall fever, that
thislande is often played withal sicalie. (f.xlii.r-v)

As a committed Protestant recently returned to England from exile, this cleric-turned-physician is concerned to stress his country's recent proneness to plagues (under Mary), but disease is inevitably a spiritual, moral and corporal matter in his medical books. In fact, at times, explanations of spiritual and corporal health and disease are intimately and ingeniously intertwined through the use of symbolic and allegorical language: the techniques Bullein must have mastered for sermon writing during his period as a church minister (the Quadruplex Exposition, for example) are redeployed in the medical context. ³⁰ Passages and words in his writings often operate in several dimensions: the literal, the tropologic (some reference to human morals), the anagogic (some reference to heavenly things), and the allegoric. In the Gouvernement of Healthe, for example, the body is described succumbing to spiritual and actual "pestilence" simultaneously through a careful choice and ordering of semantically complex diction:

Certainly the occasion of this moste fearefull sickenes commeth many waies: as the chaunge of the aire from a good unto an evill qualitie, taking his venomous effect of the vitall spirites, whiche incontinent with al speede, corrupteth the spirituall bloud, and sodenly (as it were) an unmerciful fire, it quickly consumeth the whole body even to death, unlesse the holosome medicine do prevent and come to the heart, before the pestilent humour. And because it is a very strong sickenes, it is requisite to have a strong curing medicine. (f.cxxii.r)

The clue to this passage is the use of the word

"spirituall" as opposed to the more usual "spiritous" blood in a medical text. Many of the words here are operating in the tropological as well as the literal plane and the whole is a sort of allegory of moral contamination, of sin consuming the body and extinguishing the spirit. "Holsome medicine" is prayers and repentance as well as natural remedies.

In a subsequent regimen, Bulleins Bulwarke of defence (1562), the reader is instructed that whilst "infirmities of the bodie" require a physicion, "God's woorde ... is the principall regimente" for the "griefes of minde" ("of sicke men and medicenes", f.lxxviiij.v). Indeed, the listed "Aurthours" ("Capitaines, and Souldiours") of the Bulwarke include "Moyses, David, Salomon ... JESUS Chrystus, Lucas Evangel., Paulus" (who head the list) as well as Galen and later physicians (including chemical practitioners) and ancient philosophers and poets too, notably Plato and Virgil (Preface, sig.C4r). Bullein's is a truly eclectic brand of medicine (this will be discussed in detail in the next chapter) which concerns itself with, and moralizes about, other forms of behaviour construed as detrimental to health, besides the traditional gluttony:

There are many idle people in citees, and in noble houses, dooe thinke the chief felicitie onely, to bee from bedde to bellie ... to bedde again: none other lives thei wil use, then Cardes, Dice, or pratlying tittle tattle excepted slepyng, eatyng and laughyng ... ("The booke of the use of sicke men and medicenes", Bulleins Bulwarke, f.lxxviij.r)

This manner of "idle" living, the reader is instructed, quickly makes a noble person "a deformed monstrous man" and

reduces him to beggary (f.1xvij.r). In fact these are the didactic preoccupations, too, of the mid-century Interludes (see chapter 5).

Thomas Newton's translation (The Touchstone of Complexions, 1576) of the regimen of Levinus Lemnius (an eminent Dutch physician) similarly hypothesizes about degenerate behaviour:

For there be many excellent witts and very towardly natures, which by unthrifty company and lewd education, do degenerate from their good inclination of nature, and become altogether rebellious, wilfull, lewde and barbarous.

31

"Health" is about good behaviour and morals, preventing sickness of the soul and sin, pursuits which cannot be dissociated from medical regimen:

I judge it right needefull ... to have a diligent eye and respect to the body, leaste (otherwise) it should be a burthen to the Soule, For the body being healthfull, everye member doth his office and dutie, and is to the minde ... obeysaunt and serviceable. (f.1v)

The individual's "chiefest care and whole diligence" (f.2v) should be "perfectly" to know:

The exacte state, habite, disposition, and constitution, of his owne Body outwardly: as also the inclinations, affections, motions, & desires of his mynde inwardly.,

so that he can regulate them accordingly (title-page).

Damnation is the ultimate consequence of "not knowinge of our owne selves" (f.2v),³² and of poor regimen:

For if the bodye do abounde and be full of ill humours, if the Spirites bee unpure, and the brayne stuffed full of thicke fumes proceedinge of humours, the bodye and Soule consequentlye cannot but suffer hurte, and bee thereby likewise damnified. (f.19v)

"We are what we eat" is the unstated but ever present maxim

of this medical text. Through a change of diet and temperance, the body can be "refourmed into better" (f.3v); but the effect of "immoderate gurmandyze, surphet, and dronkennesse" is to bring about "lewd affections, and unbrydled motions", the dulling of reason, and subsequent "venerous luste" and beastly behaviour:

For when the body is bombasted wyth drincke, and bellycheere, the privities and secrete partes do swel, and have a marveyulous desire to carnal coiture.
(f.10v)

All this is underpinned by a curious combination of traditional medical theory and a form of mystical philosophy which is heavily Neoplatonic:

Such nourishments and meates as engender good bloude & juyce are hereunto very avayleable, out of which the humours & spyrits (which be the ... stirrers forward of the minde) obtayne and receyve theyr nature. (f.5r)

"Spyrits" are very active in the disease processes described in this text, and in the manner of Paracelsus's universe, Lemnius's is infused with divine "Spirite ... breathed by God above ... [which] governeth and ruleth all thinges ... [and] imparteth vitall heate" (f.20r). But, in this airy, mysterious world, man is continuously beset by "externall spirites recouring into his body and mynde" (f.21v)--"good Angels and the badde"-- which, being "without bodies slyly and secretly glyde" into their unsuspecting host "like as fulsome stenche", intermingling with the humours and spirits and pricking him forward to "grace" or, more problematically, to "mischeife ... & drawe him from God as farre as may be" (f.22r). Abundance of bad spirits and "dullness" (f.8v) of the better ones through

poor regimen has such deleterious effects because it is "by the mynisterye and ayde" of "the Spirite" that "the Soule ... perfourmeth her powers and faculties" (f.7v). By contrast in Elyot's regimen "Spirite" had indeed been "an ayre substance subtyll", but its function was to stir "the powers of the body to perfourme their operations" (the soul was not mentioned) and though the "Spirituell powers" were construed as affecting the emotions there was no discussion of behaviour or sin (f.10r-v). Unlike Elyot's Castel but in common with Bullein's texts, The Touchstone of Complexions is a deeply religious, though far more mystical medical book. Both Thomas Newton and Lemnius Levinus were learned physicians and humanist scholars (Newton studied at both Oxford and Cambridge [DNB]) with an English following sufficient to warrant three editions of The Touchstone: there is no evidence to suggest that a pre-occupation with the occult operations of the universe undermined their medical reputations.

Thomas Cogan's The Haven of Health (1584), written chiefly "for the comfort of Students" (title-page), though self-confessedly imitative of "Maister Eliote's" regimen, is characterized, rather differently, by constant moral and religious exhortation and a rigorous concern to illustrate medical maxims through scriptural texts. "The Epistle Dedicatorie" sets the tone:

And no doubt but that meane and temperate dyet, in the feare of God, is more commendable than all the delicate fare in the world, and ought of the godly to be esteemed as a thing that best contenteth nature, and preserveth health. Which is not onely confirmed by Saloman in his Proverbes, and by the example of the

Prophet Daniel, but most manifestly by Ecclesiasticus in these wordes By surfet have manie perished ... (f.2v)

In this manual, "a meane and temperate dyet" (The Epistle Dedicatorie, f.2v) is a mark of "the godly"--it is essential Protestant regimen underscored first by the scriptural word, then by Aristotelian and Socratic philosophy ("reason ought to rule, & all appetites are to be bridled and subdued" f.3r), also by common sense ("such as the foode is, such is the bloud: and such as the bloud is, such is the flesh" f.4r), and finally by Galenic and Salernitan physiology.

Like Bullein's regimen, Cogan's deploys epidemic disease--particularly a mysterious "burning fever" which raged among the notaries of Oxford in 1577--as a warning to beware God's displeasure, to "speedilie repent" (pp.282-84). Furthermore it lists, and then interprets the signs of the sickness entirely through the biblical Word:

... this kinde of sicknesse is one of those rodde, and the most common rodde, wherewith it pleaseth God to beate his people for sinne, as it appeareth in Leviticus ... I will appoint over you fearefulnesse, a consumption, and the burning agewe ... likewise in Deuteronomie: the Lord shall smite thee with a consumption ... (p.282)

The primary "enemie" to health in The Haven is definitely sin associated with the unleashing of beastly appetites through inadequate self-government and failing to heed God's Word ("Plague and sicknesse be Gods punishment", p.262). The godly individual should do everything in his power to avoid "falling": he must maintain a regimented castle; "avoide the place infected" (p.266); and employ

"Phisicke" ("the gift of God", p.266). In fact, this regimen represents medical concerns as completely indivisible from religious ones. For this physician turned Manchester grammar-school teacher, disease is a spiritual matter with individual corporal, social, and national consequences: in "the haven of health" (Protestant England) personal bodily discipline--especially in matters of "Venus" (sexual conduct) and diet--is the linchpin to the nation's "health" (physical, spiritual, moral, and social).

William Vaughan's Naturall & Artificial Directions for Health (1600), also construes health and disease in spiritual terms, but focuses, rather differently, on the physiological mechanism that connects soul and body so intimately that one can "destroy the other".³³ This melancholic "student in the Civill Law" represents himself, rather melodramatically, as driven to study medical regimen in order to save the "purer faculties of my soule"--"Reason and Religion forced me to take this course" ("To the Ladie Margaret Vaughan", sig.A3v). He later explains, "For if the bodie be replenished with ... diseases, the soule can not be whole, nor sound", because "of their joint qualities one with another" (p.52). The physiological link is construed as the "moisture and drinesse, heate & cold" common to both "the bodies qualities, & the soules affections" and the health-producing affection, "mirth", apprehended by the "wise" as "contemplation" (as opposed to "gratification"), is God-given to induce men "to seeke after his divine Majestie" (p.33). It is as if humoral medical theory has

been carefully adjusted and re-tuned to accommodate the clamouring demands of religion for a far greater stake in society's schema for understanding disease: even health-giving mirth has been qualified, subdued, and accorded a Christian-spiritual function.

Indeed, at the turn of the seventeenth century, because of anxieties about the health of the spiritual body, the corporal body appears in danger of being pushed to the margins of the field of medical concern altogether by some (especially clerical) writers, but is reprieved, out of necessity, as "the cage" of the soul. As James Manning's I Am For You all Complexions Castle (1604) explains: it is the "duty" of man to "look after his castle", "to keepe the cage as cleane as he can, neither breake or dissolve the same, least his soule, as an untimely bird, flie unto the hill".³⁴ It proceeds to rail:

No bodie polluted with grosse humours either with excesse, or defect of any humour, but it is more apt to grieve the soule, defile the soule, and offend the creatour of bodie and soule. Doth not excesse of choller cause men to rage? Of phlegm to be dull & sleepe? Of melancholie to phrensie? and subtiltie of blood to wantonness? (p.2)

In fact this tract reveals a deeply ambivalent attitude to the body which is, on the one hand, conceived as "this rare and wonderfull order of man" (p.1), and on the other, as the potential enemy of the soul which resides within it in "spirit which is the vapour of blood, and becommeth vitall, and animall" (p.4). Regimen is a Christian obligation and has particular implications for behaviour--imbalance leads to sin--and thus for the healthful maintenance, or the

degeneration of, the soul: "The soule crieth unto thee to correct bad humours, and not admit them to raigne" (p.5). Perfect knowledge of one's own complexion (inner and outer), as construed through the reading of "signes", is thus a prime key to salvation: if the soul is to be saved from corruption, the regrettable animal tendencies of the body must, indeed, be closely addressed and repressed. Consequently Manning--"minister of the word"--provides pages of finely detailed observations of each complexion enabling his godly readers to search out their "type" and to practise proper regimen of body and soul accordingly.

The body and its environment

From the mid-sixteenth century, as we have observed, the discourse of religion, and the related ones of spirituality and morality, intrude increasingly heavily into the medical domain: this has two major consequences for the way the body's natural environment is represented in the English regimens.

First, and especially in recognizably Protestant-authored regimens against the pestilence, the macrocosm is rendered as an ever-burgeoning storehouse of (sometimes very curious) signs which--like the microcosm--need to be interpreted and acted upon if God's wrath is to be assuaged, and His scourges averted.³⁵ Simon Kellwaye's especially exhaustive list of "forewarninges and tokens of the comming therof [of plague]" in A defensative against the Plague (1593), includes descriptions of "firie impressions in the firmament", of plagues of toads, mice,

and caterpillars, of swarms of gnats, and flocks of children playing particular games: all provide vital information "given us beforehand" better to prevent the plague by "prayer and repentance".³⁶

The second consequence might be described as the moralization of the environment. If we return to William Bullein's rendering of his native, "sicalie" land in the Governement of Healthe, for example, it is possible to detect how his apprehension of sin (and subsequently of God's anger) being the prime cause of England's recent pestilences colours his depiction of landscape. He provides a long list of uncongenial places productive of "distempered" air and juxtaposes this to a contrasting vision of "pleasaunt clere aire, swete gardens, goodlye hilles" and temperate climate associated with health (f.xlii.r). Thus an Edenic countryside is contrasted, suggestively, with a hellish, fallen city-scape of overcrowded "foull houses" surrounded by polluted waters "wherinto jakes or stinkes, have issues ..." (f.xlii.v), complete with "wallowing swine", unburied carrion, "sellers, boltes, holes ... walles, joyned together" (f.xli.v-f.xlii.r). Having urged his fellow countrymen to pray to God against this instrument of his displeasure, he advises lighting fires and burning sweet perfumes "to purge this foule aire" (f.xlii.v). In the same year that Bullein's book was first issued, another reformer, Thomas Becon, published The Pomander of Prayer containing "spiritual preservatives" against disease which produced

large numbers of imitations throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries bearing similar titles with health-giving connotations ("godly gardens of herbs", "salves for a sick man", for example): it is clear from this context that Bullein's "swete perfumes" (f.xlii.r), like his "foule aire" (f.xlii.v), has spiritual and moral significances in addition to natural medical ones.

Indeed, air quality, and particularly its smell, becomes heavily symbolic with occult resonances in some books of regimen. In The Touchstone of Complexions, for example, "good Angels" impart "holesome ayre, and with a pleasaunt and sweete inspiration refresh our inward minds" (f.24r), meanwhile:

... as a pestilente winde induceth sicknesse and infection: so do evill Spirites exhale & breath out a pestiferous poyson, & to the mindes of men bring mischiefe and destruction ... (f.24r)

Spiritual and moral infection are caught from evil spirits and "wicked fiends" (Vaughan, p.75) in the same manner that pestilence is inhaled with "corrupt" air and from infected people. "Evil" exhalations and "ill" vapours are associated increasingly through the course of the century with "darke, troublous and close" environments near "draughts, Sinckes, dunghils, gutters, chanelles" (Cogan, p.7) and in "shippes, common Gayles, and in narrow and close lanes and streetes, where many people doe dwell together" (Kellwaye, f.1v). Dirty threatening townscapes are moralized so that things such as puddles, sinks, stench, vapours and dunghills are often accorded negative attributes like venomous, malicious

and evil. "Evil" is a particularly charged word in the late part of the century: it usually no longer refers simply to an illness or a misfortune (as it does in earlier sixteenth-century medical books) but tends to function suggestively sliding between the material, psychic, and moral domains. Indeed, all the regimen writers from Bullein on project into their writing fears and anxieties about foul stinking city environments; disguising them with perfumes and greenery by burning sweet woods and strewing herbs and flowers is the next best thing to fleeing from them. In Cogan's Haven even "noyse" and "rumours" emanating from the plague-stricken city are dangerous and the godly individual's flight to safety is represented as a perilous pilgrimage away from "venemous vapours", putting "high mountaines inbetweene" (p.264). Late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century medical regimens devoted entirely to the plague, such as the gentleman-scholar Simon Kellwaye's A Defensative (1593), and the poet-physician Thomas Lodge's A Treatise of the Plague (1603), focus increasingly on measures for cleansing filthy urban sites and on segregating and avoiding the contagious people associated with them.

Read in this context it becomes easy to see why evil, sin and vice are so closely associated with miasmic environments, vile smells, disease and dirt in late Elizabethan and Jacobean drama and satire. In Shakespeare's Henry V, for example, King Harry warns of "the filthy and contagious clouds/ Of heady murder, spoil, and villainy"

(III.iii.114-15); and in King John Salisbury cries: "Away with me, all you whose souls abhor The uncleanly savours of a slaughter-house; For I am stifled with this smell of sin" (IV.iii.111-13). Moral revolt is here conveyed very powerfully as physical revolt from a loathsome smell. Early modern Pox was especially linked with unpleasant odours, as this peculiarly Jacobean satiric adaptation of the Salerno school regimen (probably by Sir John Harington) intimates:

Though all ill savours do not breed infection,
 Yet sure infection commeth most by smelling,
 Who smelleth still perfumed, his complexion
 Is not perfum'd by Poet Martials telling,
 Yet for your lodging roomes give this direction,
 In houses where you mind to make your dwelling,
 That nere the same there be no evill sent
 Of Puddle-waters, or of excrements,
 Let ayre be cleare and light, & free from faults,
 That come of secret passages and vaults.

37

Perfumes were sold by barber surgeons to camouflage unpleasant smells caused by bodily infection, and "secret passages and vaults" with "faults" has sexual-disease connotations. Unsavoury odours were suggestive, then, of sexual transgressions and moral contamination, as well as of the presence in the body of physical disease. The surgeon William Clowes's polemical regimen (1579) against "the pestilent infection of filthy lust ... the French Pocks"--"A sicknes very lothsome, odious, troublesome, and daungerous" (Preface: To the friendly Reader)--pinpoints a particular urban environment which he associates with the infection: "the great number of lewd alehouses, which are the very nests and harbourers" of the "filthy creatures" who spread it (sig.B2r).

39

The body, society, and the state

As Clowes's words reveal, by the 1570s "filthy" people congregating in unsavoury environments were construed by some as contaminating the "nation" with their dangerous disease:

It is wonderfull to consider, how huge multitudes there be of such as be infected with it, and that dayly increase, to the great daunger of the commonwealth, and the stayne of the whole nation: Ile [sic] none so great as the licentious and beastly disorder of a great number of rogues and vagabondes: The filthye lyfe of many lewd and idell persons ... By meanes of which disordered persons, some other of better disposition are many tymes infected
(sig.B1v-B2r)

This eminent practitioner (who prided himself on his services to the capital's poor) attributes the spread of the disease to idle "disordered persons"--"rogues and vagabondes"--unregimented, "ungodly" types who plague the city with their roguish behaviour as well as their pestilence.⁴⁰ Transmission of "the pocks" was recognized to occur through sexual contact which Clowes elides readily with "stinking sinne ... the originall cause of this infection" (sig.A3v): resonances of original sin and ideas about "uncleane" fallen behaviour inform the language and shape the constructions of this medical text.⁴¹ In this regimen it is "sinne" which "stinks" and the "sickenes" which is "odious" (sig.B2v): the nostril-assaulting epithets of miasmic exhalations are transferred to the disease, the sin associated with it, and to the "uncleane persons" who suffer from it (sig.B4r).

Clowes's discourse of syphilis is thus highly unstable and emotive, sliding as it does between the metonymic and

the metaphoric and consequently between physical disease and moral and social domains. "This most noysome sickenes" (sig.B2v), for example, has potential corporal, moral and social significations (the "wretches" who spread it are a "noysome sickenes" too) in a context where it "stayne's" the nation (like those tainted with it). Through such verbal gymnastics, sin, disease, disorder and the idle poor become intimately (and metonymically) linked matters for public action because these "disordered persons" infect those of "better disposition" (sig.B2r). This St.Bartholomew's surgeon advocates magistrates rounding up the "idell"/diseased (the two are by now conflated) and "executing" upon them "such severe punishment, as may terrifie the wicked wreches of the world" (To the friendly Reader, sig.A4v). Anxieties about the growing numbers of poor, unemployed people in the capital were intense in the 1570s and in 1575 an Act had been passed covering both the punishment of "vagabonds" and the relief of the poor, which prescribed the construction of "houses of correction". It seems, however, to have been largely ineffective and Clowes's tract might thus be construed as a call for tougher and more concerted initiatives to deal with this "stayne" to the commonwealth.⁴² There is no evidence that the Pox was more rampant among the poor, though there is ample to suggest that the "better" sort went to great lengths to disguise its shameful presence in their bodies.⁴³ The politically- and socially-divisive potential of the rhetoric of disease is rendered apparent by this

tract: in 1579 the English medical regimen entered full-square into the arena of social control.

Regimens against the plague written in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century, and subsequently, reveal a similar, though far less hostile and pronounced tendency, to localize and stigmatize the "disordered" infected and to advocate measures to confine them. Thomas Lodge, for example, represents the poor as the focus of the plague-- "For where the infestation most rageth there povertie raigneth among the Commons" (sig.A2r)--and recommends keeping the unemployed and "base" sort out of the City: "... for such as are vagabonds, masterless men, and of servile and base condition, for such I say, they ought not to be admitted".⁴⁴ His treatise prescribes Orders for cleaning up the environment and containing infection and dwells disturbingly on the mysteries and "evil" of "Contagion"--"an infection proceeding from one unto another by communication of a pestilent and infected vapour"; or "an evil qualitie in a bodie" (sig.C1v, sig.B2v). Simon Kellwaye, drawing on the learned Italian physician Fracastoro's theories and on "experience", proposes that a disease is "very contagious and infectious [when] ... it proceedeth by ebullition of blood, whole vapour being entred into another bodie, doth soon defile and infect the same" (f.39r-v). Since, in this period, the vapour of blood was hypothesized as "the cage wherein the soule mooveth" (Manning, p.4), this has potential implications for the transmission of moral and psychic infection, too. Such

accounts can only have served to intensify anxieties about other bodies, especially those construed as contagious and "unruly".

Medical writers were, in fact, encouraged by the government to foreground contagion and measures to control it in their accounts of plague and some, like James Manning, obliged the authorities to an extraordinary degree:

May not they be condemned for murtherers, which having plague soares will presse into companies to infect others, or wilfully pollute the ayre, or other meanes, which others are daily to use, and live by? (p.2)

The maintenance of the body under strict control is construed by this cleric as a social as well as a religious obligation: failure to regiment the body warrants earthly sanctions as well as divine ones. Manning's views were clearly in step with London's legislators: the same year that this was published (1604) an Act was passed making the execution of careless plague-victims a real possibility (though no one was actually condemned to death on this count).⁴⁵

Whereas regimen for Paynell and Elyot in the first half of the sixteenth century was a matter for individuals, to maintain corporal health and lengthen life, for later authors it is increasingly about social and national responsibilities, about collective initiatives and penal sanctions to subdue the "enimie" within the castle (the animal passions) and contain or eradicate the growing spectrum of hostile forces (disease, evil spirits, bad

angels, the dirty poor) hovering dangerously close to its ramparts. In 1604 Manning's regimen stridently, and urgently, calls the regiments of England's "godly" to attention: "the lawe of God ... the law of man, parents, king, and country, commaund, and call unto thee to endeavour to preserve thy bodie" (p.6).

In regimens from the second half of the sixteenth century, therefore, medical discourses of the body increasingly intersect with those of religion and the state; often the three domains are intimately associated and even represented simultaneously through the deployment of heavily symbolic language. The emergent "castel" is a charged political site, especially in discourses of contagion and proper regimen. No wholesale change in representation of the body--from a Galenic to a Paracelsian model--is observable, but a shift towards a greater eclecticism and idiosyncrasy, is. A wide range of authorities--medical, religious, philosophical, historical--ancient and modern, are drawn upon to explain bodily misfortune, and herbal, alchemical, astrological and Paracelsian ideas and cures often appear in the regimens alongside Galenic ones: medical schemas circa 1600 are, in fact, remarkably diverse and unstable.

As will also be becoming apparent, changing socio-geographical patterns particularly in London; a rise in epidemic disease associated with slum developments; the legislation designed to control the spread of disease and the idle poor associated with it; and, indeed, the

manifestations and characteristics of the biological causative agents, all have important bearings on representations of the diseased body in medical, political and literary contexts, and will be considered in detail in later chapters. Two areas warrant further exploration at this stage: medicine's preoccupation with the occult in the late sixteenth century; and the overt intrusion of religion into the medical domain from the mid-century.

(iii) "Evil Contagion": the occult moral universe of early modern England

In spite of John Caius's concern to keep the "supernatural" out of his discipline (see above, p.54), medical interest in psychic functioning and spiritual disease was clearly intense from the last thirty years of the sixteenth century. Significantly in 1601 the statutes of the College of Physicians were altered to allow Fellows to practise alchemy;⁴⁶ and, as the papers from the notorious Mary Glover case reveal, in the early seventeenth century medical practitioners were important arbitrators in disputes about witchcraft and possession.⁴⁷

Religious, alchemical, Neoplatonic and Paracelsian ideas are all implicated in the rise of an occult discourse in some medical books. Lemnius's sly spirits are a flamboyant manifestation of this tendency but Thomas Lodge's account of contagion reveals a subtler veering in a similar direction:

Contagion, is an evil qualitie in a bodie,
communicated unto an other by touch, engendring one

and the same disposition in him to whom it is
communicated very properly is he reputed
infectious, that hath in himselfe an evil, malignant,
venemous, or vitious disposition, which may be
imparted and bestowed on an other by touch ...
(sig.B2v)

"Disposition", in the Renaissance, as now, had the same
ambiguous meaning encompassing both "physical constitution"
and "turn of mind" (OED2). The words contagion, corrupt,
defile and malignant are all potentially functioning in the
moral/psychic, as well as in the physical (disease-
transmission) domain. "Quality", in this period, could
refer simply to a Galenic "property" but also (as now)
could pertain to character. The cumulative effect is to
suggest that contagious people with their "evil qualitie"
are to be feared as much for their moral infection as their
bodily disease: they are a danger to society rather like
the masterless men and vagabonds who, Lodge warns, should
be purged from the City (like the evil smells).

Unfortunately, descriptions such as this one cannot be
dismissed as mere witty figurations: when it was written
medicine was at the centre of a fierce debate (with
troubling implications) about if, and how, psychic
transmission could occur. Clerics had long employed
contagion as a simile to describe the moral consequences of
contact with ungodly "evil men" (and with the righteous):

Neither ought any man to think that good custome and
companye, are in smal moment ... For as with the
felowship of evil men we are infected (as it were)
with some contagion: even so with the dayle
conversation of those that feare God, we are reformed.
(John Woolton, 1576)

48

Similes in both medical and religious tracts began,

however, increasingly to elide into metaphors, and metaphors into hypotheses. Francis Bacon recorded the parameters of the psychic controversy in 1605:

Fascination is the power and act of Imagination intentive upon other bodies, than the bodie of the Imaginant ... wherein the Schoole of Paracelsus, and the Disciples of pretended Naturall Magicke, have beene so intemperate, as they have exalted the power of the imagination, to be much one with the power of Miracle-working faith: others, that drawe neerer to Probabilitie, calling to their view the secret passages of things, and specially of the Contagion that passeth from bodie to bodie, do conceive it should likewise be agreeable to Nature, that there should be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit, without the mediation of the sences, whence the conceits have growne, (now almost made civile) of the Maistring Spirite, & the force of confidence, and the like. Incident unto this, is the inquirie how to raise and fortifie the imagination And herein comes in crookedly and dangerously, a palliation of a great part of Ceremoniall Magicke. (The Advancement of Learning)

49

Speculation about the machinations of minds was clearly most "probable" and therefore most scientifically respectable, when it was based on the observation of contagion, but the continued play of "conceits" was obviously pushing the hypotheses beyond the realm of the admissible for this committed empiricist. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that in the early seventeenth century moral pestilence and various forms of psychic contagion were no longer merely metaphorical for many people: the mind and soul had to be fortified against these diseases. In

Spirituell Preservatives against the Pestilence (1593)

Henry Holland inveighed: "they [wicked spirits] can poison the soules of men, suggesting and breathing most pestilent motions into the minds of men" (f.33r). Indeed, books such as Henry Holland's seem to have been published as

frequently around 1600 as texts foregrounding natural preservatives against the plague.

Descriptions of psychic disease in medico-religious texts have an important bearing on readings of plays such as Shakespeare's Macbeth, with its witches and miasmic air, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, with its good and bad angels, and our interpretations of sudden extreme reversals of behaviour, notably in domestic tragedy (A Yorkshire Tragedy and A Woman Killed with Kindness). This drama is, I believe, participating in the highly topical and at least partly medically-sanctioned debate about the transmission of evil. Searching for explanations based on modern ideas of psychological realism to account for Anne Frankford's fascination with Wendoll (a man who claims he is "pricked on" by "some fury" A Woman killed With kindness II.iii.100) is undoubtedly misplaced in this context yet critics ponder repeatedly on the "curiously unmotivated" nature of her desire.⁵⁰ Far from a growth of rationalism as the Tudor age gives way to the Stuart and England advances apace towards the scientific enlightenment, the vernacular medical regimens provide evidence of a more complex and far more interesting story which has crucial implications for the way we understand the portrayal of character, and of misfortune, on the Jacobean stage.

(iv) Reforming the body: the sixteenth-century discursive intertexture of medicine, religion, and the state.

The regimens also bear witness to a remarkable

convergence between religion and medicine in the sixteenth century, and, furthermore, they throw light on why this marked intensification of a long-standing relationship occurred when it did. Early modern medicine centred far more on prevention of disease through ordered lifestyle and self-government than medicine does today, and it was precisely these areas which early sixteenth-century religious reformers (convinced of endemic spiritual, moral, and social "disease" under Catholicism) were concerned to address. Medicine (healing) is a potent political tool and whilst the extremist, Paracelsus, was in favour of replacing "heathen" Galenic medicine (which he aligned with the old religion) with a radically alternative model with important spiritual implications (and of which he was the prime prophet), other Protestants appropriated, adjusted and redeployed, the traditional schema in the service of reform.

Two texts which were fundamental to English Protestantism--Calvin's The Institution of Christian Religion (1536) and the Geneva Bible (1560)--illustrate how crucial the apprehension of disease processes, and their management, were to the new faith. Indeed, man's inner "corruption" (disease of the soul), his "originall sinne", formed the central crux of the reformed religion. The Institution describes in detail the disastrous consequence of Adam's "filthy and detestable offense" of despising "Gods worde" (II.I.4. f.4v):

Originall sinne ... the inheritably descendynge
perversnesse and corruption of our nature, poured

abroade into all the partes of the soule, whyche
fyrste maketh us gilty of the wrath of God, and then
also bryngeth forth these workes in us ... the workes
of the flesh ... Sinne.

51

The soul is "corrupted"--rather as poisoned vapours, or the
digestive products of imprudent or excessive consumption,
corrupt the blood in the humoral process--and the disease
is "inheritable" ("the very infantes themselves ... brynge
with them their owne damnation from their mothers wombe"
II.I.8. f.4v), suggestively recalling the congenital

52

transmission of the new infection of the period, strongly
linked to sin, the Pox. Contradicting the early Church
Fathers (including Augustine), Calvin, Luther and
Melanchthon, all maintained that original sin was not just
a weakness but an actual sin which conferred guilt:

53

nature's order ("which before was good and pure" II.I.5.
f.5r) had been "infected" and the godly individual's duty
was to apply himself to regenerating his tainted soul and
to preventing himself from falling down a slippery slope
associated with man's regrettable post-Lapsarian
inclination to "workes of the fleshe" ("adulteries,
fornications, theftes, hatreds, murthers" II.I.8. f.4r).
Not surprisingly in this context, The Institution gives
prominence to "The history of Job" with his skin disease
which it represents as an outward sign of, and fitting
punishment for, his inner corruption, serving to bring Job
to timely knowledge of his "follye, weakenesse, and
uncleannesse" and thus to repentance (I.I.3. f.1v). As we
shall see in chapter five, this has important implications
for our understanding of depictions of the Pox in Edwardian

Interludes. "Follye" such as Job's, and that associated with "false pretence of righteousness", the reader is instructed, "shal stinke before us": as in the medical regimens of the later sixteenth century (and as in Shakespeare's drama, as we saw earlier), spiritual and moral depravity is represented as a repugnant smell (I.I.2. f.1v).

Stressing the interrelatedness of body and soul, The Institution argues that "wisdom" is achieved through "the knowledge of God, and of our selves ... with many bandes linked together" (I.I.1. f.1r). Calvin's "institutionalisation" of the believer's inner anxiety, his injunction to know and be displeased with "our selves", ultimately, and increasingly through the course of the sixteenth century, meant reading and interpreting the spiritual and the physical body in the light of the biblical Word--a point reinforced by the Geneva Bible's prefaces and in its introduction to Leviticus:

And because they shulde give no place to their owne inventions ... he prescribed ... what diseases were contagious and to be avoyded: what ordre they shulde take for al maner of filthines and pollution: whose companie they shulde flee.

54

God, the divine physician, "prescribed" and dictated a regimen ("ordre"), for all types of "filthines and pollution" (disease is symbolic and moralized). The "uncleane", "polluted" leper of Leviticus, and his equally "uncleane" dwelling place which should be "shut up" (f.52r), clearly inform English discourse about infectious disease in the second half of the sixteenth century

(Clowes's hygiene-ridden rhetoric most notoriously). In A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection (1603), James Balmford minister of St. Olaves in Southwark, having quoted from Leviticus, instructed his parishioners:

What (I say) do these lawes and customes (well considered) teach us ... but that Gods people should be carefully preserved from filthinesse and contagion? Let us a little better consider the lawes of Lepers, as most nearely concerning us, and we shall find that they were not onely to have markes to be known by, but also to give warning to companie approching And it is as evident that they were not to come into the house of God But the plague is more daungerously contagious being mortall, then the Leprosie ... therefore Princes and Magistrates ... ought to be carefull, to keepe the sound from the infected ... especially in assemblies.

55

Indeed, by 1600 some religious extremists were prepared to acknowledge only the biblical Word as a source of authority to make sense of and manage "contagious" diseases like the plague. Most medical writers, such as the Protestant-humanists Bulleyn and Cogan, preferred, as we have observed, to foreground scriptural precepts and then to enlarge on them drawing upon a wide range of secular authorities.

Knowledge of "our selves", body and soul, was also a pivotal feature of Lutheran doctrine and under the auspices of Luther's friend and ally, Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), Wittenberg anatomy and the study of medicine took on interesting new significances in the first decades of the sixteenth century. As the medical historian Vivian Nutton has described, Melanchthon proposed that knowledge of the anatomized body actually reduced anger and increased virtue (love and charity); in 1545 he expected all arts students

at his university to be familiar with the "doctrina on the nature of the human body, the rudiments of medicine, and the description of the faculties (virtutes)". Indeed,⁵⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin has observed how such expectations of bodily knowledge were, in "the time of Rabelais", not unusual:

medicine was the center not only of the natural sciences but of the humanities as well ... this phenomenon was observed not in France alone; many famous humanists and scientists of the time were physicians: Cornelius Agrippa ... Copernicus ...

⁵⁷

Under the influence of humanistic learning, the body was undergoing profound interrogation and re-evaluation, and a rise of interest in Neoplatonism (away from scholasticism) ensured that in intellectual centres throughout Europe (Protestant and Catholic) speculation about the soul's relation to the body and the spirit world, and a renewed emphasis on temperance and morality, would be considerable.

For Protestant reformers, however, the body and its management had specific "godly", doctrinal implications. Medical regimen provided a tangible working model for the regeneration of the soul, and of society's spiritual and moral life: it entailed close self-scrutiny and self-regulation, and crucially, it did not involve obedience to the authority of another (clerics and physicians were construed as avaricious and corrupt by early reformers). Submission to the regiment of God--the first physician--was central to the reformed faith and by the 1590s the regimen model had evolved giving rise to its opposite: a "regiment of Satan". William Perkins's best seller, A Golden Chaine,

58

describes how all mankind "is infected" with sin; the first punishment for sin is "a proneness to disease", but the worst cases of sinning are punished "with fearful subjection to the regiment of Satan" (p.34). The regiment of God--knowing oneself, body and soul, and acting upon that knowledge in the light of "the Word" and humoral medicine--was essential practice for the would-be elect. In this context it is not surprising that medical and religious discourses share so many locutions by the late sixteenth century; equally, satiric writings like Thomas Drant's A Medicinable Morall (1566), which opens with a lamentation about the "tyranye of appetyte" and claims to "crop" sin (sig.A2r).

59

Regenerating the "sicke soule" was construed by divines as an inevitably painful process involving self-denial, suffering and even torment. Perkins urges:

Wee permit Chirurgians that they should both bind us lying diseased in our beds, and seare us with hote irons yea lanch and search our members with rasors and will wee not give God leave to cure by afflictions the most festered diseases of our sicke soules? (A Golden Chaine, p.163)

Early modern medicine and surgery could be extremely painful affairs providing perfect analogies for explaining God's torturous "crosses": suffering in Perkin's writing is a sign of "adoption", of being one of the elect. We should, perhaps, recall at this juncture how Thomas Elyot's regimen had urged, citing biblical authority, how "sorrow" had "no commoditie": in the late sixteenth century mental anguish continues to have harmful humoral effects on the corporal

body but these appear to be outweighed by the benefits conferred on the soul. In the seventeenth century the valorisation of suffering, and of regimen to improve the soul, was not restricted to Calvinist writings. The importance of knowing the state of one's body, of reading it like a text and applying the appropriate medicine is explicated very fully in John Donne's Devotions upon Emergent Occasions and several steps in my Sicknes (1624):

But, O my God, ... I know that in the state of my body, which is more discernible, than that of my soule, thou dost effigiate [present a likeness of] my Soule to me a man may have such a knowledge of his owne constitution, and bodily inclination to diseases, as that he may prevent his danger in a great part.

60

Divines wrote about medicine, physicians about spiritual disease, satirists about lancing sin. Richard Stock's sermon on The Doctrine and Use of Repentance (1610) could easily be mistaken for a medical regimen from this period:

... a daintie and full diet, as at the first entrance by heating the bodie, it inflameth the soule, stirring within it excessive joy, pleasure, boldnes, ... so after it putteth it into a new temper, lulling it asleepe ... drowning it in a drowsie forgetfulness, both of God, and of it selfe ... (p.90)

As in the quotation from Donne, medical understanding is not being deployed here to illuminate spiritual matters through meaningful analogies: rather, the activities of the body and soul are so thoroughly intertwined that any attempt to separate "medical" from "religious" matters would be erroneous and impossible. The boundaries between discourses and professions concerned with "disease" are inevitably weak in a medical schema where body and soul are intimately related and restraint of bodily pleasures is

construed as fundamental to health with implications for society (and its controlling mechanisms) as well as the individual. The early Protestant movement--with political, economic, social, as well as religious reforming designs--was arguably well-served and even empowered by emergent "medical" fictions which could simultaneously embrace and (by prescribing prevention and cure) intervene in multiple areas of life helping to fashion the unstable, fragile body of the evolving Protestant nation.

(v) Some relections on the sixteenth-century "shifts".

The analysis of vernacular regimens contained in this chapter may give the impression that a distinct shift in the focus of medical concern from individual corporal health, to spiritual and social disease, took place through the course of the sixteenth century. A rather more complex overall picture is, however, probable and is suggested by the co-existence and contending popularity of the older and newer types of medical regimens, judged by numbers and dates of editions and reprints. For example, the thirteenth edition of The Castel of Helth was published in the same year (1576) that The Touchstone of Complexions began circulating in the English market-place.

The rise in medical preoccupation with the occult coincided with an increased emphasis on empiricism in the same period, a linkage which to us seems paradoxical, but which illustrates that history (and scientific progress) is not a straightforward, unilinear development. Raymond

Williams's distinction between residual, dominant, and emergent aspects of culture is, I feel, helpful in characterizing and situating the elements which co-exist at any one historical moment.⁶¹ If we take into account the growth through the sixteenth century in the publication of religious texts dealing with preservatives and remedies for disease (especially plague), together with the rising popularity of almanac literature with medical information,⁶² and the increasingly occult language of the books of regimen, the dominant picture that emerges in the second half of the sixteenth century is of disease paradigms grounded in humoral physiology but with increasingly prominent spiritual, supernatural, moral, and contagion components. Though shifting and unstable, the Galenic body is never substantially displaced by the emergent Paracelsian form with which it co-exists; indeed, it remains the dominant model, but by 1600 its boundaries are often represented as less distinct and less material (sometimes appearing to dissipate altogether in a Neoplatonic-type universe of spirit), more porous and vulnerable, and thus more susceptible to penetration and occupation by hostile circumambient forces. William Vaughan's Directions for health (to his sister) provides an engaging example of this:

Pray fervently to God, before you sleep, to inspire you with his grace, to defend you from all perilles & subtelties of wicked fiends & let your night cappe have a hole in the toppe, through which the vapour may goe out. (pp.75-76)

The enemy within these fragile bodily boundaries (the

innate corruption of original sin) emerges as an increasingly formidable source of physical and mental ill-health from the mid-century; and the complex and troublesome relation between the soul and the soma becomes an important matter for explication by advocates of both the Galenic and the Paracelsian schools of physic.

As we have seen, a substantial number of authors of English medical books were not physicians, and those who were tended to move between two or more occupations (notably teaching, religious ministry, being "men of letters", politics and the law). Humanistic training at university level often involved reading classical medical texts; such interdisciplinary and professional fluidity inevitably encouraged intertextuality and the interrelatedness in terms of vocabulary and tropological character of the discourses of medicine, religion, politics and literature. In the late sixteenth century they tend to be particularly richly impregnated with images from medicine and surgery and to share a figurative style in which metonymic associations (disease, dirt, dunghill, corruption, stench, puddle, contagion, sin) elide readily into shifting metaphors ("fulsome stench" in such a discourse might, for example, refer to a bad smell emanating from a dunghill, a person, a social group or a moral state), destabilizing the discourse and allowing rapid and easy movements between physical and psychic, moral and social domains.

I have suggested that this form of symbolic discourse

(which had long been cherished by sermon-writers), in its wide-ranging inclusiveness, was particularly useful for mediating the Protestant reformers' ideas; so, too, was a medical model which was dominated by concern to "refourm" the fallen degenerate body and soul "into a better" (Newton, f.3v) by strict personal and social discipline. Under the joint impetus of humanism and Protestantism the classical art of regimen with its emphasis on temperance, sobriety and continence, was revived in the sixteenth century and endowed with new significances to suit an evangelical Christian context and to facilitate an ideological programme of spiritual, moral, social and political renewal. As we shall see in the next chapter and, indeed, repeatedly through the course of this thesis, early modern literature both engages with these concerns, and--crucially--intervenes in the debates surrounding the correct maintenance and regeneration of the "body".

Chapter 2

Regimen and the body politic

- (i) "A public weal is a body living ... governed by the
rule and moderation of reason"

1

But in a body, which doth freely yeeld
His partes to reasons rule obedient,
And letteth her that ought the scepter weeld,
All happy peace and goodly government
Is settled there in sure establishment;
(Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, II.xi.2)

2

Reason in man obscured, or not obeyed,
Immediately inordinate desires
And upstart passions catch the government
From reason, and to servitude reduce
Man till then free.
(John Milton, Paradise Lost, XII.86-90)

In the vernacular books of medical regimen I have traced a shift in emphasis through the course of the sixteenth century to a heavily moralized conception of bodily care in which the godly individual must study his physical constitution, and govern it closely, in order that--as The Touchstone of Complexions unequivocally expresses it--his "Soule ... bee [not] ... damnified" (f.19v). Rebellion of the body and soul through insufficient self-discipline in the form of dietary prohibitions and restraint--temperance, sobriety and continence--becomes an increasingly articulated concern. Thomas Newton's tract, for example, declares:

For when the naturall and vitall facultie, together wyth the naturall and inwarde Spirites waxe somewhat stronge, and partlye by aboundaunce, partly by the qualite of meate and nourishment, have attayned strength and power: they reject and cast away the bydle of reason, & draw the spirit animal also ...

into their faction & disordered rebellion. (f.14r)
Without the self-control inherent in proper regimen, the
animal in man--the beast--asserts itself and he becomes
obsessed with "filthy and shameful pleasures" (f.14r);
conversely with good regimen reason is paramount and, in
this heavily Platonic construction, the individual remains
"master" of himself.³

As the opening citations reveal, early modern
literature--especially that authored by committed
reformists--has a considerable amount to say concerning
bodily regimen, and is particularly vociferous about the
horror of appetites out of control. Book II of The Faerie
Queene, for example, devoted entirely to "Temperaunce" and
approximately contemporaneous with The Touchstone of
Complexions,⁴ depicts "the fort of reason" under constant
"siege" by "strong affections" which provoke "the fraile
flesh" forward into mischief, exercising "tyranny" over
body and soul (II.xi.p.272). Vivid examples of the outcome
of succumbing to excessive appetites ("luxury,/ Surfeat,
misdiet ..." xi.12.p.274; "lusts" and "joyes delicious"
xii.85.p.297) are provided by Guyon's continual encounters
with "these seeming beasts" scattered around Alma's
"Bulwarkes", who are "men indeed" transformed into "figures
hideous" by their lack of self-restraint (xii.85.p.297).
The pronounced militaristic, body-under-siege imagery of
Spenser's poem is very familiar from the sixteenth-century
medical regimens; indeed, even the mysterious swarming
"villeins" ("idle shades" with "hollow eyes" II.ix.15, 13)

associated figuratively with Irish bogs, who besiege the castle in Canto ix, bear a clear and disturbing resemblance ("For though they bodies seeme, yet substance from them fades" II.ix.15) to the airy "evill spirites" and "wicked fiends" recouring threateningly round the body in regimens such as Newton's and Vaughan's. Such intertextual associations inevitably affect the reader's experience of--and, importantly, potentially coloured late sixteenth-century political initiatives against--the suggestively "bog-Irish" villeins with their insidious and demonic contagion.

The evangelical-poetical rendering of bodily regimen undoubtedly, however, achieved its fullest and finest degree of early modern explication in Milton's Paradise Lost. Led astray by "insatiate Satan" (intent on tainting mankind's "animal spirits" with "inordinate desires" II.8, IV.805), "ungoverned" Eve "Greedily ... engorged without restraint" perverting "nature's healthful rules" (XI.517, IX.791, XI.523). The legacy of the Fall is man's thralldom to his appetites, and consequent disease and death: "And govern well thy appetite, lest Sin/ Surprise thee and her black attendant Death" (VII.546-47). A degree of freedom from this bondage, can, however, be achieved, Michael instructs Adam, through "The rule of not too much, by temperance taught/ In what thou eat'st and drink'st ..." (XI, 531-32). In Milton's epic strict bodily regimen is synonymous with submission to the regiment of God (as opposed to the regiment of Satan) and the cornerstone of

the religious and political (broadly Puritan and Republican) philosophy it expounds: medicine, religion and politics are inextricably intertwined in a discourse of authority and freedom where regiment, government, temperance, moderation, reason (and their negative opposites) are key words.

By the mid-seventeenth century when Milton composed his epic, the understanding of dietary regimen and its implications for the ordering of the commonwealth, had clearly shifted a considerable distance from that set out in pioneering manner in Thomas Elyot's The Book Named The Governor" (1531):

But with all study and diligence I will describe the ancient temperance and moderation in diet, called sobriety, or, in a more general term, frugality, the act whereof is at this day as infrequent or out of use among all sorts of men, as the terms be strange unto them which have not been well instructed in Latin.
(p.213)

Both the terms and the practice of "temperance and moderation in diet" were, according to Elyot, unfamiliar to the majority of English readers in 1531 yet, as we have seen, in the second part of the century they were being stressed almost obsessively in the vernacular medical books. There is a tangible satirical edge to Elyot's words and, undoubtedly, the commonplace motif of the decayed nation partly underlies his positing of a decline in ancient values, and in the use of the Latin tongue. Nevertheless, the fact that he sees fit to devote discrete sections of The Governor to explaining and illustrating classical "temperance", "moderation", "sobriety in diet", as

well as "abstinence and continence", suggests a genuine sense of the need to re-introduce the English to the basic principles of the ancient art of bodily regimen. His best-seller The Castel of Helth published three years later was clearly similarly motivated. Interestingly, changes in the notion and emphases of personal bodily care through the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (as observed in the regimens which proliferated from Paynell's and Elyot's models) seem to have been accompanied and paralleled by shifts in ideas about the correct government of the body politic. In particular, a correspondence can be detected between the intensification of the call in the medical regimens for closer self-regulation to maintain the elements and humours in a balanced state (and thus keep evil out of the body and the troublesome passions subdued), and the increasingly voiced anxieties in some treatises concerned with regimen in the body politic about absolutist styles of government and the need to "balance" the monarch's power with "other elements" to prevent evil⁵ tyranny creeping in and ruining the state. Furthermore, the ideas mediated through such bodily analogies generated enough debate, currency and motivating force to initiate radical political action: bodily correspondences functioned as far more than mere tropes.

In this chapter I shall attempt to trace the development of a train of thought based on the care of the physical body (particularly dietetics), and articulated through a series of correspondences, which in the century between

1550 and 1650 was sufficiently powerful to justify (for some) the deposition and beheading of monarchs construed as insufficiently self-governed. It also gave rise to a fascinating literature of "excess" with ideological resonances which have been insufficiently understood by literary critics.⁶ A discussion of representations of excess in Shakespeare's Richard II will conclude this exploration of the significance of regimen and unbridled appetites within the body politic.

The OED2 definition of regiment provides a useful starting point: 1. "Rule or government over a person, people, or country; esp. royal or magisterial authority. Now rare (very common c.1550-1680)". Its four other listed meanings (2. function of a ruler; 3. government or control over oneself; 4. the governing of a person, people or place; 5. rule of diet or mode of living) are all now obsolete having for the most part disappeared from writings in the late seventeenth century. 'Regiment', the medical meaning of which was used interchangeably with 'regimen' in the early modern period (see 'regimen' OED2), was thus a composite and "very common" term which mysteriously vanished from use in the years following the Restoration. I shall argue that it, like "appetite", was a politically-charged and symbolic concept circa 1550-1660 which mediated a transfer of authority from the divine "anointed" monarch (the King's "ordinance" or regiment), to the divine in man--reason and conscience--accessible via self-scrutiny and careful bodily and spiritual regimen (the regiment of God

which negated the need for priestly intermediaries); and ultimately to Parliament and the regiments of "godly" men spurred on by rejection of Charles I's alleged unbridled appetites. Thus in 1643 the Parliamentarian Philip Hunton in A Treatise of Monarchy, posed the crucial question "Who shall be the judge of the excesses of the monarch?" and responded confidently:

... the superior law of reason and conscience must be judge, wherein every one must proceed with the utmost advice and impartiality. For if he err in judgement, he either resists God's ordinance or puts his hand to the subversion of the state ...

7

In the 1640s God's regiment ("ordinance"), accessible via reason and conscience, overrode the king's and one consequence was the justification for regicide.

It is in the books of regimen for princes--frequently termed "advice-books" or "mirrors for princes"--that Renaissance debates about just authority and its opposite, tyranny, can best be followed. Literary scholars pay little attention to these texts yet, as Quentin Skinner asserts, "of the various branches of humanist political literature that came to be studied in Northern Europe in the course of the sixteenth century by far the most popular proved to be the category of advice-books for princes".⁸ The most important English example, Elyot's The Governour, went through eight editions before 1580 (STC2). As I shall argue, the sixteenth-century humanist treatises detailing the proper regimen(t) of princes and their kingdoms are of seminal importance to an understanding of Richard II. Before examining these texts in relation to Shakespeare's

play, it is necessary first to locate and contextualize The Governor among its more radical generic relations, and to foreground the key aspects of, and shifts in, the debates.

Concluding the section outlining the "most ... necessary studies" for the young governor, when the child has reached seventeen Elyot declares, "to the intent his courage be bridled with reason, it were needful to read unto him some works of philosophy". He recommends Aristotle's Ethicae and Cicero's De officiis, "But above all other, the works of Plato". He proceeds to commend the books of "the most excellent doctor Erasmus Roterodamus" (p.39), in particular The Education of a Christian Prince (1516). Elyot's brand of moral philosophy is indebted to all these, but particularly to the latter: "there was never book written in Latin that in so little a portion contained of sentence, eloquence, and virtuous exhortation, a more compendious abundance" (p.40).

"Mirrors for princes" were written throughout the medieval period but the fifteenth-century Italian humanist regimens differed markedly in rejecting the values of scholastic philosophy and insisting on the Platonic⁹ "equation between 'virtus' and 'vera nobilitas'". Whereas for John of Salisbury in his Policraticus of 1159, rulers were naturally imbued with divine majesty and virtue and stood above the laws (as in the Elizabethan homilies), for the Italian humanists such as Poggio Bracciolini, and their¹⁰ Northern successors, "nobility is born of virtus alone". Erasmus's ideal ruler is, for example, a Christian

philosopher-king who is master, first and foremost, of himself:

Let the good prince be reared in such a manner and [continue to] live in such a manner that from the example of his life all the others (nobles and commoners alike) may take the model of frugality and temperance. (p.210)

As in the advice-books of the ancients, the author's philosophy is abundantly illustrated through images and analogies drawn from the body, medicine, husbandry and music:

In a man it is the finely organized part (namely, the mind) that exercises the control. Likewise, in the mind it is its finest element, reason, that asserts itself Therefore, whosoever assumes the functions of rule in a state, as in a sort of great body, should excel all others in goodness, wisdom, and watchfulness. (p.176)

This recalls Plato's visionary republic where those with "simple and moderate desires", guided by "reason", "right belief", "reflection"--"the best educated"--were envisaged controlling the desires of the "inferior multitude", thereby creating a society which would be "master of itself and in control of pleasures and desires" (Republic XII. p.125).

Erasmus was all too aware, however, of the contrast between the classical ideal and what he construed was the sixteenth-century reality: "the ways of some princes have slipped back to such a point that the two ideas of 'good man' and 'prince' seem to be the very antithesis of one another" (p.189). Just as the ways of the representatives of the Roman Church seemed to him to have degenerated away from the truth into a morass of corruption, so too had the

manners of Europe's nobility, and its rulers. Princes appeared to Erasmus to have become bloody warlords-- "plagues to the world" (p.157)--milking their subjects for taxes in order to satisfy their tyrannical appetites. Erasmus's answers to the problem were heavily indebted to Plato: Europe's philosopher-kings of the future must be rigorously disciplined, exercised and carefully educated from their earliest days. Any tyrannical tendencies must be "weeded out" by the tutor-gardener at their earliest signs. The prince's obligation to exercise proper management of his own body and soul is matched by the need to scrutinize the body of the kingdom, and, like a physician to diagnose and cure its diseases: "What is the prince but the physician of the state?" (p.236).

In fact the Christian Prince skilfully deconstructs the meaning of kingship, insisting that it resides in the soul and manners of the man and the way he performs "the offices of the state" (p.182), not in the trappings and titles of monarchy:

The prince should learn to philosophize about those very decorations with which he is adorned. What does the anointing of the king mean, unless the greatest mildness of spirit? What significance has the crown on his head, if not the wisdom that is absolute?...
(p.187)

Furthermore, discrediting the medieval idea of inherited "divine majesty" by divesting majesty of its sacred quality, Erasmus insists that "dominion", "imperial authority", "kingdom", "majesty", "power" are all "pagan terms", not Christian, and that the "ruling power" of a Christian state consists only of "administration, kindness

and protection" (p.175). A bad man cannot, therefore, be a king and, if the prince is unable to be virtuous and rule for the benefit of his subjects as opposed to himself, he should, quite simply, resign--"yield" his authority "to another" (pp.174,182,189). This was the highly unconventional gauntlet that the text repeatedly thrust at its original princely readers.

As Quentin Skinner affirms, "the Reformation brought with it a new era in political debate in which a number of values central to Renaissance culture were challenged";¹² the divine right to rule of the king construed as insufficiently self-regulated, and thus unable to constrain his desires and passions, was certainly hotly contested, and increasingly so from the mid-sixteenth century. In the early days of reform Luther, Calvin and Tyndale had all preached the Christian obligation of obedience to rulers, even tyrannical ones:

Heads or governors are ordained of God, whether they be good or bad Evil rulers are a sign that God is angry and wrath with us. (William Tyndale, The Obedience of a Christian Man)

13

Calvin's The Institution of Christian Religion declared the correction of "unbridled government" to be: "the revengement of the Lorde, [therefore] let us not by and by thynke that it is committed to us, to whom there is geven no other commaundement but to obey and suffer" (IV.XX.31 f.170v). The reverses which the Protestant movement experienced from the 1540s no doubt shook the faith of the reformers in the efficacy of passive obedience. With

English Protestantism in danger of being all but eradicated an increasingly militant doctrine of resistance against the "appetyteis of wickit Princeis" was promulgated,¹⁴ particularly by the Marian exiles and the Scottish Presbyterians, the latter having to justify their part in the forced abdication of Mary Queen of Scots.

Arguing in defence of "sick [such] as may and do brydill thair inordinatt appetyteis of Princeis" John Knox declared:

Many now a dayis, (said he) will have na uther religioun nor faith than the Quene and the authoratie hes. Bot is it [not] possible, that the Quene be sa far blyndit that sche will haif na religioun ... than may content to the Cardinall of Lorane? ... the Cardinall be sua corrupt, that he will admitt na religioun quhilk dois nott establicshe the Paip in his kingdome ... lieutenant to Sathan, and ennemy to Chryst Jesus ... (p.412)

Knox undermines and subverts the authority of the Queen by aligning it first with the Cardinal, then the Pope, and finally with Satan: the Queen's regiment has become synonymous with Satan's. Enlisting the authority of the Word, he proceeds:

Christ callit Herod a fox; and Paul callit the Hie Preist ane payntit wall, and prayit unto God that he sould strike him, because that against justice he commandit him to be smytin. Now gif the lyk or greittar corruptiounis be in the warld this day, quha dar interprise to put silence to the Spreit of God, quhilk [will] not be subject to the appetyteis of wickit Princeis? (p.412)

In Knox's construction the corruption and inordinate appetites of princes is bound up with allegiance to the Roman Church: actively to resist such rulers is to obey God and His justice.

After 1559 Calvin added a passage to The Institution

which similarly set obedience to "the ordinance of God" against the rule of "the outraging licentiousnesse of Kinges" (IV.XX.31. f.170v). "The office" of "Magistrates for the behalfe of the people" obliged their concerted action against tyrannical rulers:

... if they winke at Kinges wilfully raging over and treading down the poore communaltie, their dissembling is not without wycked breache of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they know themselves to be appointed protectors by the ordinance of God. (IV.XX.31. f.171r)

"Faith"--Protestantism--now involved protecting the liberty of the people against "raging", unbridled Kings. Calvinist doctrine was subsequently considerably at variance with that set out in the Elizabethan homilies which maintained that political insurrection ("rebellion") against a monarch was "worse than the worst governement of the worst
15
prince".

George Buchanan, humanist tutor to young James VI developed both these strands of Protestant thought in his important treatise, De Jure Regni Apud Scotos (1579), which formed a considerable basis for later Puritan political theory. Buchanan insisted on the Ciceronian principle that no person in a state was above the law which the people, through their representatives, enacted; this necessarily entailed a collision with the doctrine that sovereignty was inherited, divine, and therefore not subject to earthly sanctions--the divine right of kings to rule. Like Erasmus, Buchanan stressed the dual nature of kingship: "the ruler is not a king only, but is as well, a man ... He is, in

fact, an animal" (p.56); and went on to assert the ethicacy of the deposition of "beastly" rulers, and of executing "vengeance on an arrogant and worthless tyrant" (p.122). In fact the confrontation between two theories of government--one based on inherited right and the other on office--which is so evident in Buchanan's tract, was destined to remain centre stage and, as Conrad Russell argues, formed the political dividing line in the dispute between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians in the English civil war.¹⁶ Imprisoned in the Tower, Sir John Strangeways, the Royalist member of Parliament, wrote in 1647: "We maintayne that the king is king by an inhaerent birth-right; they say his kingly power is an office upon trust".¹⁷ The "office upon trust" recalls the words of Erasmus's treatise which, like Buchanan's, anxiously sought to separate the "office" of the prince, for the "benefit" of "the people" (pp.161, 174), from the "bad" self-serving man-ruler.

In 1642 Charles I was accused of bringing in "an arbitrary and tyrannical government, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm": of abusing the office of king and waging war against the people's representatives in Parliament who claimed to be upholding the regiment of God.¹⁸ His father, James I, had witnessed a remarkably similar train of reasoning being used to justify the deposition of his mother (Mary Stuart), and James clearly (and rightly as it turned out) harboured deep misgivings and anxieties about it. His political treatise addressed to Prince Henry, Basilicon Doron (1599), cleverly appropriates

the terms of the above humanists' arguments:

As Hee can not bee thought worthie to rule & command others, that cannot rule and dantone his owne proper affections & unreasonable appetites; so can he not be thought worthy to governe a Christian people ...

19

But he is careful to locate blame for unbridled passions in "these Puritanes ... aspiring without measure, rayling without reason" (Knox and Buchanan, perhaps?) who fantasized dangerously about "a Democratik forme of government" in Scotland (p.49, p.46). Allegations about ungoverned appetites and a paucity of reason giving rise to the scourges of "sedition and calumnies" (p.49) could emanate, it seems, from both sides (from absolutists and from those favouring a more limited style of monarchy). Echoing the threats of the homilies on obedience, and in a manner troublingly reminiscent of Shakespeare's embattled Richard II ("God omnipotent,/ Is mustering in his clouds on our behalf/ Armies of pestilence" III.iii.84-86), James warned menacingly of God's vengeance for regicide:

And although some of them [monarchs] ... may bee cutte off by the treason of some unnaturall subjectes ... some notable plague misseth never to over-take the committers ... (p.31)

(ii) Improper regimen(t) and Shakespeare's "Richard II".

David Norbrook has described the "war of ideas that had raged throughout Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century between advocates of resistance to tyrants and champions of absolute monarchy". It is firmly amidst this war of ideas that I wish to situate the first of Shakespeare's history plays in the Lancastrian sequence; a

sequence which portrays a kingdom grievously diseased through a monarch's "surfeit". As the Archbishop of York describes the malady in 2 Henry IV:

... we are all diseased,
And with our surfeiting and wanton hours
Have brought ourselves into a burning fever,
And we must bleed for it--of which disease
Our late King Richard, being infected, died. (IV.i.54-58)

In essence the plays depict a version of the Erasmian nightmare:

The corruption of an evil prince spreads more swiftly and widely than the scourge of any pestilence ... under a gambler, gambling is rife ... under an epicure, all disport in wasteful luxury; under a debauchee, licence is rampant no comet, no dreadful power affects the progress of human affairs as the life of the prince grips and transforms the morals and character of his subjects. (Christian Prince pp.156-57).

Richard's personal disorder (he is a "careless patient" II.i.97), "His rash, fierce blaze of riot" (II.i.33), his "light vanity" (II.i.38), "his waste of idle hours" (III.iv.67), are like a contagion, producing an epidemic of surfeit and corruption in his kingdom. Bolingbroke, his deposer, is guilty of the "excess" of murder: his style of regiment proves inadequate to restore health to the commonwealth which remains a "beastly feeder" (2 Henry IV I.iii.95). It is only under the brief rule of the philosopher-king Harry ("We are no tyrant, but a Christian king" Henry V I.ii.241) who understands the office of king, and who recognises and is in control of his own human fallibility ("I think the King is but a man ..." Henry V IV.i.101) that the monarch's subjects are full of "duty and of zeal" (Henry V II.ii.31). Prizing his "true and inward

duteous spirit" (2 Henry IV IV.iii.276) above his regalia,
Harry is truly--in deeds as well as words--"Twin-born with
greatness" (Henry V IV.i.231).²¹

In his essay on Macbeth (1987), Norbrook argued that Shakespeare had a much broader and more sophisticated intellectual base than most critics were willing to acknowledge: he made the case for the playwright's familiarity with Buchanan's De Jure Regni, or at least his play Baptistes (1540) which dramatises important elements of its political philosophy. Indeed, Ben Jonson owned a copy of De Jure Regni and Sidney reverences Buchanan's writing in The Apology for Poetry: it is certainly permissible, then, to assume that at the very least Shakespeare was familiar with the main ideas of Buchanan's thesis which lay at the heart of Protestant-humanist²² political debates from the late sixteenth century. It is even more likely that the humanist text which seems to have inspired Buchanan's vision of a just society more than any other, and which even the conservative Thomas Elyot greatly admired--Erasmus's Christian Prince--was accessible to the playwright.²³ All these texts deconstruct the meaning of kingship but Erasmus's advice book undertakes the task, as we have already partly seen, with particular vigour and dramatic appeal. He instructs his princely reader to philosophize upon his crown and his titles and remorselessly strips, lays bare and interrogates his royal charge--"What is it that distinguishes a real king from the actor? (p.152)-- insisting (as Shakespeare's King Harry was

later to agree), "It is the spirit befitting a prince".

Thomas Elyot cautioned his governor more mildly but in the same vein:

... know thyself, know that the name of a sovereign or ruler without actual governance is but a shadow, that governance standeth not by words only, but principally by act and example (p.165).

Elyot did not, however, dabble his toes in the dangerous waters of "tyranny" stirred up by Erasmus. Of tyrants, the latter had railed:

If you strip them of their royal ornaments and inherited goods, and reduce them to themselves alone, you will find nothing left except the essence of an expert at dice ... and every other kind of crime. (p.152)

This, surely, is the domain of Shakespeare's King Richard, a young prince who does everything wrong measured against the exactions of the advice books: he is "no physician" (I.i.154); he is a bad husbandman of his land; he resents the "care" of his office; he is vain and susceptible to flatterers; he dislikes the commons and overburdens them with taxes; he disregards the law.²⁴ Then finally he de-kings himself in front of an audience ("A woeful pageant" IV.i.311), exposing the pitiful human presence beneath the robes and crown which he had mistakenly, and to his cost, equated with divine majesty and thus with unshakeable right and power. Importantly, though, the playwright's depiction of Richard's inadequacy and his sorrowful demise commands human sympathy as well as condemnation.

"The image of the twinned nature of a king" was most certainly not, therefore, "Shakespeare's own and proper

vision", as Ernst Kantorowicz asserted in his influential book, The King's Two Bodies.²⁵ Furthermore, I would argue, it is not necessary to have any familiarity with Plowden's legal concept of the King's Two Bodies (1561) or popularizations of it--which Kantorowicz and Marie Axton see as pivotal to a sixteenth-century audience's appreciation of the politics of Richard II--to understand the dual nature of kingship which by the 1640s had acquired sufficient status to enable Parliamentarians to extinguish the king's body, to save the office of king.²⁶ Indeed, the legal concept may well have grown out of the political debates recorded in the Northern humanists' advice books for princes from as early as 1516. Neither is it necessary, nor perhaps wise, to speculate that the play was specifically written to participate in the succession debate: Richard II is a remarkably open text which ponders on the meaning of kingship, and which dramatises and exposes the limitations and pitfalls of both the orthodox Tudor line on monarchy which could function to sustain tyranny, and of the humanist debates which, at their most extreme, countenanced the deposition and even the killing of kings. The playtext offers no clear-cut, uncomplicated solutions to the problems it poses; given this indeterminacy, the circumstances of performance (such as the possible staging of it on the eve of the Essex rebellion), might considerably affect the play's political implications and impact.²⁷

A few literary critics, including Harold Brooks and

Tillyard, have noted the presence of verbal echoes from Elyot's The Governor in Shakespeare's Lancastrian plays, but the resonances and parallels from its more radical humanist relations, and the preoccupation of these with the excesses of princes and how to correct them, have, rather surprisingly (given Richard II's shared concerns and²⁸ imagistic base), been neglected. The language of disease and humoral medicine pervades the Lancastrian history plays in a particularly organic and unrelenting manner which should, indeed, serve to highlight their participation in the sixteenth-century political debates outlined above. Buchanan, for example, expounds his theories within, and through, a pronounced body-centred logic of proper regimen which the Lancastrian history plays share. De Jure Regni declares:

Both the human body and the body-politic are injured by the presence in them of harmful things and by the lack of things they need. Each body is cured in much the same way as the other--namely, by nourishing and gently assisting the weakened members and by diminishing the fullness and excess of that which does no good, and by moderate exercises. (p.50)

At first introduction, this seems a fairly commonplace and innocuous correspondence but Buchanan's tract proceeds to carry this balancing-act logic to an extreme which eventually justifies the eradication of particularly top-heavy elements within the body politic--monarchs given to excesses. Indeed, when he wrote this tract Mary Stuart had already been radically excised from the body politic on the basis of such reasoning.

For Buchanan, order within the body politic of a

fallen, degenerate world prone to "diseases" is not a natural, normal given, but a hard-won condition:

Now, just as in human bodies, composed as they are of conflicting elements, there are diseases--that is to say, disturbances and internal uneasiness; so, of necessity, the men associated in these bodies which we call states are of diverse and often of opposing sorts, classes, conditions and natures. Of these none "Can remain for an hour in agreement about anything." [Horace Ep.I.i.] It is certain, in short, that they would separate and go to ruin, unless there were a physician employed to cure diseases ... (pp.48-49)

Just as in Thomas Newton's medical tract "faction & disordered rebellion" of the body's components constantly threaten the well-being of the individual, so in this political treatise discord of elements within the social body is the regrettable but normal tendency, and "ruin" of the state can only be averted through sound regiment guided
29
by reason.

A similar ordering incentive and humoral model informs Shakespeare's gardener's practice of husbandry as well as his political reflections: constant vigilance and skill is required to cultivate the post-Edenic garden which is naturally given to over-profusion and unruliness. This radical practitioner who voices democratic sentiments-- "even ... government"--notably, however, has no hesitation in instructing his helper to imitate "an executioner" and:

Cut off the heads of too fast-growing sprays
That look too lofty in our commonwealth.
All must be even in our government. (III.iv.35-37)

There is no gardener in Buchanan's treatise but gardening analogies abound in both Erasmus's and Elyot's tracts and a gardener-counsellor features in the latter. Their gardeners, though, engage in notably more gentle strategies

of husbandry: preparing ground and weeding--no lopping off heads here. Shakespeare's shrewd but knife-happy gardener--"Superfluous branches/ We lop away" (III.iv.64-65)--would certainly not have been welcomed as a political advisor in Erasmus's or Elyot's commonwealths, or even in Buchanan's, though Machiavelli might have countenanced him. Indeed, in his advocacy of merciless political expediency the gardener is, in fact, counselling tyranny: clearly, that which constitutes sound policy in the context of a garden might not be appropriately, or safely, transposed to the maintenance of a state. Richard II encourages its audience both to weigh up the strategies and ethics of opposing political philosophies and to be wary of extremists whose often densely figurative and captivating ordering rhetoric might, indeed, conceal worse excesses than those they rail against.

It should, perhaps, be recalled at this juncture how Shakespeare's arch-political strategist, Richard Gloucester, had sought to tarnish the reputation of the king by insinuating his poor regimen: "O he hath kept an evil diet long,/ And overmuch consumed his royal person" (Richard III, I.i.140-41). In 1 and 2 Henry IV the character most obsessed with his own physical constitution and with medical name-dropping--Falstaff--is the one who is least self-governed and who is prepared, as Richard Gloucester had been, to turn "diseases to commodity" (2 Henry IV I.ii.248). In fact, in the Lancastrian sequence images of oral gluttony (and their opposite which

produces lean Gaunt) are everywhere in excessive profusion and deployed to a logical but ridiculous extreme they function inevitably to weaken the authority of the language of dietary regimen (which is effectively parodied), and ultimately of the potent medical rhetoric so cherished by the humanist politicians.³⁰

In one brief sentence that resonates with the diction and constructions of the humanist political tracts, the most frequently cited "source" for Shakespeare's play, Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles, established Richard II as an English king "par excellence" personifying the sixteenth-century notion of tyranny: "he ... beganne to rule by will more than by reason, threatning deathe to eche one that obeyed not his inordinate desires".³¹ Educated Elizabethan playgoers might well, therefore, have come to this play expecting to observe a tyrant in action (a spectacle many appear to have relished a few years before in the shape of Marlowe's "thirster after sovereignty" Part 1, II.vi.31, "Bloody and insatiate Tamburlaine"³² 1.II.vii.11). Richard II, though, is an "anoointed" ruler, and it is this troublesome linkage of "inordinate desires" with divine right which produces the ethical dilemmas the play enacts.

Richard's noble uncles recognize and disapprove of his "surfeit" yet they are paralysed to do anything to impede their country's decline, or, indeed, to revenge their brother's death, because they believe that "God's is the quarrel" (I.ii.37); and, like Richard, that "heaven still

guards the right" (III.ii.58). The impotence of these elder statesmen in the face of injustice and impending national chaos, exposes the shallowness of orthodox Tudor political doctrine which is expounded most fully in this play by the Bishop of Carlisle.³³ He asks "What subject can give sentence on his king?" IV.i.112. (a question which Buchanan answered in De Jure Regni and which, as we have seen, was addressed very pointedly by Philip Hunton before Charles I's trial); and proceeds:

And shall the figure of God's majesty,
His captain, steward, deputy elect,
Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
Be judged by subject and inferior breath ...
(IV.i.116-19)

The shoring up of the abuses of absolutism with, among other things, "pagan terms" would not have met with Erasmus's approval (see above, p.97). Rather surprisingly, Thomas Elyot even challenged assumptions about divine right, instructing his governor: "nor has thou any more of the dew of heaven, or the brightness of the sun, than any other persons" (p.165). Buchanan, however, brazenly outfaced the Tudor dogma offering a contrasting perspective (and making it small wonder that his treatise was officially banned); he railed:

God, as has been said before, orders evil persons put out of the way; nor does he except any rank, or sex, or condition, or person whatsoever; and kings have from him no consideration that is denied to beggars.
(p.122)

Buchanan's may be taken as an extreme view, yet, as we have seen, it was an influential one especially in militant Protestant circles. It is probable that many among Richard

II's original audiences would have greeted Carlisle's pronouncements with a degree of scepticism, and on the eve of the Essex rebellion they might even have hissed and booed.

Richard's uncle York, acknowledged by him as "just" (II.i.221), functions in this play to foreground and challenge the king's unlawful seizing of "Hereford's rights" (II.i.202), and to highlight Bolingbroke's trespass in "braving arms against thy sovereign" (II.iii.111). He becomes the voice of care-worn authority charged with an ethical and legal dilemma which he cannot resolve:

Both are my kinsmen.
T'one is my sovereign, whom both my oath
And duty bids defend; t'other again
Is my kinsman, whom the King hath wronged,
Whom conscience and my kindred bids to right.
(II.ii.111-15)

Giving the appearance of a coward as much as a dutiful subject and governor, York determines to do nothing ("remain as neuter" III.iii.158) except fall back on God and let Him settle the quarrel which Bolingbroke eventually wins. The audience is left to speculate whether God has determined Bolingbroke's success (as the latter claims, and York choses to believe), or whether the usurper is opposing God's justice whilst invoking His authority (Tamburlaine poses similar questions). A comparable conflict to York's, between "oath" and "conscience", was destined to exercise the minds of duteous Englishmen throughout the Stuart reign: only by installing divinity firmly in human conscience and divesting the king's majesty of it, could

the ethical dilemma be satisfactorily resolved, opening the way for legal action against an absolutist-style monarch. Whatever the author's intention, the theatrical deconstruction of majesty undertaken so spectacularly by Richard II undoubtedly functioned to some degree to further the essential process on the route to deposition and regicide, of the demystification of the king's body in his subjects' sights.

Shakespeare notably uses the rather unreliable bully, Northumberland, as the mouthpiece of the Buchanan-style law of the people;³⁴ he demands ("giving Richard papers"):

... you read
These accusations and these grievous crimes
Committed by your person and your followers
Against the state and profit of this land,
That by confessing them, the souls of men
May deem that you are worthily deposed. (IV.i.212-17)

Whether or not, Richard has been "worthily deposed" is not resolved by the playtext, and the confusing scenario which ensues the deposition centring on the question of which king is the legitimate monarch--the anointed one, or his successor who commands the Commons' support--is not solved either; even the two kings are unsure about it. Whilst Bolingbroke is riddled with guilt and anxiety that he has, in fact, opposed God'd will, Richard's words reflect his genuine puzzlement: "God save the King, although I be not he./ And yet Amen, if heaven do think him me" (IV.i.165-66). Does sovereignty exist in "care" (office); in a crown; in a name; in popular support; in an anointed body? Are events determined by Providence, Fortune or by mere mortals invoking deities for their own ends? Were the civil wars of

Henry IV's reign divine punishment for his opposing of God's ordinance (in overthrowing an anointed monarch), or the legacy of Richard's contagious "sickness", or both? Can a bad king depose himself as Erasmus suggested he should? The Elizabethan audience was left pondering a variety of contestatory perspectives, and in an ethical and philosophical quandary which anticipated the political dilemma of some fifty years hence, and which could, in the end, only be settled by an appeal to individual conscience and reason. As Milton was to argue in his civil war tract against censorship, Areopagitica: "when God gave him [Adam] reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing".³⁵ Staging deposition in the 1590s was certainly not tantamount to agreeing with it, but the importance of offering it as a practical possibility (with a historical precedent) among the political choices in the wake of absolutism (a choice which was strenuously denied by the Elizabethan homilies), should not be underestimated.

Within the model of humoral medicine which structures Richard II, poor regimen by the king of his own body results in his poor regiment of the kingdom and a dangerously imbalanced, unsettled condition establishes itself in the body politic. England's endogenous disorder (arising from its monarch's excesses), has rendered it prone to exopathic "disease", too: God's "scourges"--"plagues"--threaten the "sceptred isle" and are variously represented in this play as pestilence (by Richard and

Green); as civil war (by Carlisle, IV.i.128) and even as Hal (by his father, King Henry, V.iii.3). "Plague" is clearly a densely symbolic concept which requires closer scrutiny.

II

The “Plaguy” Body

Chapter 3

Representations of Plague: Pre-1580

(i) The Plague, The Pestilence, "THE SICKNESSE":
the medical and social contexts of bubonic plague.

For all other Infirmities, and maladies of the Body,
goe simply in their owne Habit, ... As the Goute
passeth onely by the name of the Goute: So an
Appoplex, an Ague, the Pox, Fistula, &c. But that
dreadfull scourge ... that sudden destroyer of
Mankind: that Nimble executioner of the Divine
Justice: (The Plague or Pestilence) hath for the
singularity of the Terrors waiting upon it, This
title; THE SICKNESSE.

It hath a Preheminence above all others: And
none being able to match it, for Violence, Strength,
Incertainity, Suttlety, Catching, Universality, and
Desolation, it is called the Sicknesse. As if it were
the onely Sicknesse, or the Sicknesse of Sicknesses,
as it is indeede.

1

Looking back on the epidemics which he had witnessed in
London prior to 1630, the playwright and pamphleteer,
Thomas Dekker, was in no doubt that one sickness stood out
from the rest in terms of the fear it aroused and the
devastation it caused. The plague, the sickness (note the
stress on the definite article in the above account), was
characterized by the rapidity of its spread, high mortality
and morbidity, its defiance of medicine, and the pain and
horror of its signs and symptoms which we now know to have
been manifestations of the bacterial infection transmitted
by rats and fleas: bubonic plague--"A terrible Enemie"
(London Looke Backe, sig.A4v).

In his earlier "plague pamphlets" of 1603 and 1604,
Dekker had graphically illustrated the external signs of

this "purple plague": "blew wounds", bodies like "speckled marble", ulcerous "running" sores in groins and armpits, "carbuncles" or "tokens" on the skin.² The writers of popular medical treatises on the plague or pestilence, after the major epidemic of 1563, were equally specific about the external manifestations of the horrific disease they were dealing with. William Bullein (1564) described the "foule bubo, antaxis and Carbuncles", which appeared especially on the "side, head, neck, flanckes".³ Simon Kellwaye (1593), likewise, detailed the "exterior Carbunkles and botches" (f.1r), and Thomas Lodge (1603) declared that the plague:

... is a popular and contagious sicknesse, for the most part mortall, wherin usually there appeare certaine Tumors, Carbuncles, or spottes, which the common people call Gods tokens. (sig.B2v)

He adds, thoughtfully, that the plague "is engendred by a certaine and more secret meanes then all other sicknesses" (sig.B3v). Indeed, the actual mechanism of this disease's spread remained mysterious and the subject of much controversy until the late nineteenth century. The fear inspired by outbreaks of bubonic plague; its lurid, painful skin eruptions; and the lack of knowledge about its transmission, seem to have made it a particularly good vehicle for the type of religious and political appropriation feared by the ancient poet, Lucretius.⁴ These appropriations, which are embodied in the social and ultimately the literary constructions of the plague, will be explored later in this chapter. First, an examination of the medical and social contexts of bubonic plague in the

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which will enable their fictional exploitations to be discovered.

There are three forms of bubonic plague which are all caused by the same bacterium '*Yersinia pestis*'.⁵ The commonest variety, transmitted to man by bites from the fleas of the black rat, has an incubation period of approximately six days and kills 60-80% of its victims within eight days. Symptoms of the disease include a high temperature, headaches, vomiting, pain, delirium and coma. A blister forms at the sight of the original flea-bite and develops into a gangrenous blackish carbunkle. The lymph nodes, especially in the groin, swell and suppurate forming the buboes which give bubonic plague its name.⁶ Especially at the beginning of an epidemic, there are some very sudden deaths from an acute, virulent form of the infection known as septicaemic plague: in these cases there are no sores or buboes, hence Lodge's "usually there appeare" in the above description. In a small percentage of bubonic plague victims (usually less than 10%) the bacteria penetrate into the lung tissue, multiplying swiftly producing a pneumonia and a high possibility that the infection will be passed on to others in expired air. In the absence of antibiotic treatment, pneumonic and septicaemic plague are inevitably⁷ fatal.

All three forms of plague were probably evident in the Black Death of 1348.⁸ The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century outbreaks tended to be associated with the warm, flea-favouring summer months which would, according to

Gregg, have reduced the likelihood of many cases of pneumonic plague arising: nevertheless, the potential existed for droplet infection to occur. The incidence of septicaemic plague, especially amongst the young who were particularly vulnerable, might however, have been high. Thomas Dekker repeatedly describes how, "many who had⁹ health in the morning, lay in their graves at night", and the physician, Thomas Lodge, remarks on the speed and violence of the disease's progress towards death: "there can be nothing more dangerous then the same, which by the malignitie and violence thereof, inforceth sodaine death" (sig.B1v). Plague epidemics seem frequently to have been preceded by outbreaks of other infectious illnesses, especially measles and smallpox, and almost certainly coexisted with diseases like typhus and gastro-enteritis which would inevitably have served to blur the distinguishing characteristics of this particular infection, especially with regard to its modes of transmission: measles and smallpox are spread by airborne infection, for¹⁰ example.

It is unclear whether plague was endemic in Britain from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, occasionally flaring up to epidemic proportions. It certainly seems to have been endemic in London between 1603 and 1610, breaking out in one parish or another during the summer months. Paul Slack favours the view that apart from the first decade of the seventeenth century and possibly the latter half of the sixteenth, it was probably

introduced anew to England in each major epidemic via rats¹¹ travelling from the Continent on ships. Contemporaries were particularly worried about cargoes of woollen and other cloth mysteriously introducing the plague into the country. Presumably textiles provided a congenial environment for flea and rat travel. Dekker alludes several times to his fellow Londoners' fear of buying new clothing or even passing by wool merchants' premises during epidemics. This anxiety about cloth might, however, have been intensified by the biblical book of Leviticus which dwells at some length on the management of the leper's woollen and linen garments, their "warpe" and "woofe", and how to cleanse, "The garment that the plague of leprosie is¹² in". Other bodily coverings were implicated in the spread of infection, though: Lodge comments on how a fur collar seemed curiously to pass plague from one person to another. He also reflects on how rats "forsake their holes and habitation" prior to epidemics, and describes the presence of "red markes like to the biting of Fleas" accompanied by fever, as a "signe" of the plague (sig.C3r). The clues to the transmission of the disease were clearly evident but deeply baffling and productive of a great deal of anxiety and superstitious, as well as more rational, speculation. As described in chapter one, Thomas Elyot's down-to-earth, naturalistic account of the pestilence falters, giving way to providential explanation, only during his depiction of the mysterious ability of the coffer of "stuff" to infect. Like Pandora's box, opening a coffer might release an evil

onto the world--mortal disease--which could only be explained in terms of an angered god exercising¹³ retribution.

Among the attributes of the plague, Dekker lists its "suttlety" and "catching"; indeed, authors repeatedly dwell on, and attempt to account for, the stealth of the plague in selecting its victims. Thomas Paynell in A Moche Profitable Treatise Against the Pestilence (1534), having presented a very vague definition of "the pestilence" based on the Galenic theory of poisoned air, asks the question: "Why that some do die and peryshe of the foresayde sycknesse, and some not: and beynge in the sayde same citie¹⁴ or house, why one dothe dye, and another dyeth not?". He appears to be echoing a common formulation from late medieval sermons and homiletic writing, as in Dives and Pauper when the author elaborates on the reason why plagues strike "sumtyme in on toun and nought in the nexte; sumtyme in the to syde of the strete and nought in the tothir" [sometimes in one town and not in another; sometimes on one¹⁵ side of the street and not on another]. In Dives and Pauper this phenomenom is cited as evidence that evil stars do not cause disease because they shine over all places simultaneously; rather, man's sin is to blame and God's good and evil angels select His targets for punishment. Through such constructions practical attempts to avoid infection were discouraged; prayers and repentance were perceived as the only recourse. Paynell, a cleric, but also a University-educated humanist translator in the employ of

Henry VIII around this time, follows the example of the ancient physicians rather than the homilists, providing natural explanations on both counts--"celestiall bodies" and the proneness of certain humorally imbalanced persons to succumb to miasmatic air. Stressing the infectious nature of pestilence and the necessity for practical responses, Paynell advocates fleeing and avoiding close association with others during epidemics, especially plague victims.

Later sixteenth-century medical accounts inevitably foreground sin initially as the primary cause (citing the Old Testament Word), and then go on to detail God's "instruments" (often natural ones) for affliction. An approach to plague control which was based on the idea of contagion necessitating segregation of the sick (heavily influenced by the Italian model), informed all Tudor and Stuart plague policy. In 1543 the Privy Council stated unequivocally that plague increased: "rather by the negligence, disorder and want of charity in such as have been infected ... than by corruption of the air".¹⁶ The message here was that people, primarily, spread disease and so had a moral, Christian obligation to isolate themselves if knowingly infected. This rose to the status of a godly obligation in later Protestant accounts such as Thomas Cogan's and James Manning's which endorsed Privy Council policy. Indeed, the mainstream Protestant approach to plague, emphasizing the duty of the individual to exercise proper regimen--bodily discipline--in order to preserve the cage of the soul and to protect others in the commonwealth,

seems to have given rise to far less conflict between the religious and secular authorities than in Catholic¹⁷ countries.

It is difficult to determine reliably the frequency and extent of bubonic plague outbreaks prior to 1563 when the bills of mortality commenced. Slack looked at the number of wills proved in the Commissary Court of London for each year between 1478 and 1565 and found that the peaks did, in fact, tend to coincide with literary references to plague in London. The frequency of crises between 1498 and 1521 was particularly notable, leading him to infer that plague was probably more common in the early sixteenth than in the¹⁸ early seventeenth century. However, as syphilis was also rapidly mortal and was talked of as a plague in these, its early years, it is conceivable that some of these references and statistics have more to do with that illness rather than with bubonic plague. Parish registers provide firmer ground after 1540. The most widespread epidemics, all coinciding with years of plague in Germany and the Low Countries, seem to have begun in 1498, 1535, 1543, 1563, 1589, 1603, 1625 and 1636. The 1603 plague was particularly widely diffused. In 1563 mortality rose eight-fold, implying that as many as 20% of the population may have died. After the big epidemic of 1563, the major plague years in the metropolis (City and liberties) were 1578, 1593, 1603, 1625, 1636 and 1665 with sporadic, limited outbreaks in various parishes through the first decade of¹⁹ the seventeenth century.

Throughout the Tudor and Stuart reigns, plague epidemics were the commonest and most threatening causes of serious mortality. At such times most physicians, according to numerous written accounts, followed their own best advice and got as far away from the focus of infection as possible. With the growth of literacy there was obviously a rising market for self-help guides to the plague. Between 1486 and 1604 twenty-three books exclusively concerned with the plague were published.²⁰ The more general books of regimen, like Cogan's and Manning's, dwelt increasingly on plague prevention and treatment; and religious tracts dealing with the "scourge of God", and advocating moral reform and repentance, mushroomed in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Discourses of the plague thus flourished in the early modern period, inscribing and circulating a set of signs and symptoms increasingly specific to bubonic plague: discourse itself encouraged definition. Competing meanings, explanations and approaches to ordering the diseased body and society were textualized with the help of an increasingly available and broadening body of prior authorities: humanist translation, Protestant reform and the growth of publishing, all contributed to the greater accessibility of ancient texts which were supremely important, it seems, for making sense of a terrifying disease in a pre-scientific world.

(ii) Literary Plagues: the Renaissance heritage

The most substantial medical treatise in the vernacular to emerge out of the plague outbreak of 1603, Thomas Lodge's A Treatise of the Plague, illustrates how essential non-medical texts were in the socio-cultural construction of a disease which effectively rendered both the Galenic and Paracelsian physician impotent beyond the power which his authority and his pen gave him to interpret, and thus to impose order on, this basically intractable medical problem. Lodge gives a particularly full account of the Old Testament and Classical texts which for him, as for many others of this period, addressed the "How?" and "Why?" questions associated with this "deadly infirmitie". He declares:

This sicknesse of the Plague is commonly engendred of an infection of the Aire, altered with a venemous vapour This dangerous and deadly infirmitie is produced and planted in us, which Almighty God as the rodde of his rigor and justice, and for the amendment of our sinnes sendeth down uppon us, as it is written in Leviticus the 26, Chapter, and in Deuteronomy the 28, To the like effect is that of CELSUS ... who very learnedly saith, that all straunge sicknesses befall mortall men, by reason of the wrath and displeasure of the Goddes, and that the necessary meanes to finde recovery and remedie for the same, is to have recourse unto them by intercession and prayere. The same also testifieth HOMER (the soveraigne of all divine Science and Poeticall perfection) in the first booke of his ILIADES. (sig.B2v-3v)

Lodge's humanist training is revealed in his eclectic mingling of Christian and pagan sources: the biblical Word contained in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, Celsus--the Roman author of De Medicina--and Homer are the outstanding authorities on the matter of "Why?". Throughout Greek,

Hebrew and Roman literature, the plague is persistently represented as punishment meted out by an angry deity incited to wrath and vengeance through man's misdemeanours.²¹ The god must be pacified through prayers, offerings, intercession and above all by correcting the action or sin which has provoked the scourge in the first place.

The English "plague" derives through old French ("plage") from the Latin word "plaga" meaning "a blow, a stroke, a wound" (OED2 [1]), which in its turn was derived from a Greek word with the same meaning. Practically all the Hebrew words for plague (Maggefah, Negef, Naga, Makkah),²² likewise indicate a blow. In the mythology of these languages the blow or wound comes most frequently from an archer god, a sword, a serpent, an angel or a spirit. In the case of the pestilence, the resulting wound might, within this imaginative framework, be visible on the victim's skin as a mark or "token". Possibly this is one reason why it is the external skin signs which feature so prominently in Renaissance accounts, particularly those like Bullein's and Dekker's which repeatedly foreground God's displeasure as the cause.

As early as 1500 BC the god of the Indian myth, Rudra, was depicted hurling down arrows of pestilence on man:

Thou, O crested god, carriest in (thy hand) that smites thousands, a yellow golden bow that slays hundreds. Rudra's arrow, the missile of the gods, flies abroad, reverence be to it, in whatever direction from here (it flies).

²³
Greek myth, likewise, favoured the archer god as the

initiator of pestilence. In the first book of Homer's Iliad (750-725 BC) Apollo, "master of the silver bow", is depicted hurling down arrows of sickness on the Achaean army because Agamemnon has stolen the daughter of one of his devotees, the "man of prayer", Chryses. The implicit message is that lax morality--Agamemnon is "greedy" and a self-professed adulterer--and angering a priest--a god's earthly representative--can have disastrous consequences. Chryses secures Apollo's help to sort the injustice out:

Now when he heard this prayer, Phoebus Apollo
walked with storm in his heart from Olympus' crest,
quiver and bow at his back, and the bundled arrows
clanged on the sky behind as he rocked in his anger,
descending like night itself. Apart from the ships
he halted and let fly, and the bowstring slammed
as the silver arrow sprang, rolling in thunder away.
Pack animals were his target first, and dogs,
but soldiers, too, soon felt transfixing pain
from his hard shots, and pyres burned night and day.

24

This is a depiction of a hunter-god whose arrows of pestilence, like his anger, are associated with darkness ("descending like night itself"), pain, and death. The later Christian associations of pestilence with the underworld, as in Dante's Inferno (Canto XXIX); and Dekker's, "Inspire us how to tell / The Horror of a Plague, the Hell" (Newes from Graves-end, sig.C3v), are but a short imaginative step from this vivid depiction of punishment for human error. Paradoxically, Homer also represents Apollo in the guise of best physician, the god of the bright light that dispels the pestilence--imagery shared by the 91st Psalm which came to be the most frequently cited biblical text in plague sermons written between 1378 and

1683 . The title-page of Dekker's The Blacke Rod: and the White Rod (Justice and Mercie) Striking and Sparing LONDON (1630), quotes from the Geneva Bible version of the Psalm:

Surely hee will deliver thee from the snare of the Hunter, And from the noisome Pestilence. Hee will cover thee under his wings, and thou shalt be sure under his Feathers. Thou shalt not bee afraid of the Pestilence, that walketh in the Darke, nor the Plague that Destroyeth at Noone-day.

The title of Dekker's pamphlet highlights the dual nature of the Divine reflected in the Old and New Testaments (Justice striking, Mercy sparing) which is remarkably reminiscent of Homer's Apollo.

Vivid images of personified pestilence and plague, of a hunter stalking his victims in the darkness, are scattered throughout late medieval and early modern plague sermons and pamphlet literature. Indeed, Siegfried Wenzel in his exploration of English imaginative responses to the Black Death, agrees with Rosemary Woolf that: "Whatever few indications of a new sentiment one may find in these poems [the death lyrics of medieval sermons] seem to occur in the image of death as a personification".²⁶ In Friar Grimestone's lyrics written after 1348, for example, Wenzel detects an intensification of tone in the characterization of Death "as a grim figure who stands and waits, who threatens, exacts, and brings misery":

Deth is a dredful dettour [fearful slayer],
Deth is an Elenge herbergour [loathsome host],
Dethe is a trewe tollere [exacting toll-collector],
And Dethe is an hardi huntere. [bold hunter]

27

In other lyrics Death is likened to a mirror, clock, thief and summoner. Beyond this enhanced adversarial response to

personified Death, Wenzel concludes that the Black Death left a surprisingly small impact on the artistic consciousness and offers this as a corrective "to the exaggerated and even rhapsodic statements about the influence of the Black Death on English art and

28
literature". When the plague is alluded to in medieval sermons it is inevitably as "A warning to be ware", enabling the preacher to illustrate perceived moral deficiencies in his society and to advocate prayers, repentance and moral reform before it is too late. The popularly cited (in both late medieval and Renaissance literature) Dives and Pauper represents plague or "moryn" as the just punishment for the proud rich:

And whan a man hath travaylyd al hys lyf in gaderyn
good togedere and to han welthe and worchepe in this
world it wil sone welkyn, fatyn and fallyn away as the
rose. Sodeynly comyth moryn, and his bestis dyyn;
comyth adversitie and los of catel, and at the laste
deth takyth away every del. And hoso wil ben gaderyn
the rose of worldly welthe and of rychesse, but he be
ryght war, he shal hurtyn hym bothyn bodyly and gostly
.... fallyn in the fendys snare.

29

William Langland's substantial narrative poem Piers Plowman appropriates plague for a similar didactic purpose. Reason's long discourse in the B (Passus V.13) and C texts, for example, argues that "pestilences" are God's punishment for sin:

Reson reverentliche, by-fore al the reame
Prechede, and provede, that thuse pestilences
Was for pure synne, to punyshe the puple.

30

Plagues of epidemic disease are produced by Nature to serve as a clear signal to wicked men to amend their evil ways:

And so seith Saturnus, and sent thow to warne,
Thorwe flodes and foule wederes, frutes shullen faile,

Pryde and pestilences, shal mucche puple fecche. (C.
Passus IX. 348-50)

In Langland, as in the sermon literature, pestilence, synonymous with Death, is a particularly good leveller of the proud rich with the poor. The indirect political message is that charitable actions towards the poor are profitable. This same message was conveyed far more explicitly in the fifteenth-century morality plays. The most famous of them, Everyman, portrays Death descending onto the stage Apollo-like clutching his fatal arrows and warning the audience:

He that loveth riches I will strike with my dart, His
sight to blind, and from heaven to depart, Except that
alms be his good friend, In hell for to dwell, world
without end.

31

The play ends with the punch-line: "Amen, say ye, for saint CHARITY".

Two medieval poets, John Lydgate and Geoffrey Chaucer, seem to have favoured a more light-hearted approach to the pestilence, stressing the Salerno school's maxim expressed here by Lydgate:

Who will been holle and kepe hym fro sekenesse
And resiste the stroke of pestilence,
Lat hym be glad, and voide al hevynesse.

32

Chaucer's Death/Pestilence, as depicted in The Pardoner's Tale, is a grim character in a humorous tale with a moral point. The story is rather like a more light-hearted and longer version of an "exemplum" in a medieval sermon--
appropriate as a Pardoner's tale. Three young men given
to corrupt living set out to kill "a privee theef men
clepeth Deeth" who "hath a thousand slayn this

33

pestilence" . Of course they do not succeed and their mutual slaughter, by dagger and rat poison, is brought about by, and a suitable punishment for, their greed. The physician-cleric William Bullein, in his A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence (1564), has one of the protagonists in his dramatic dialogue tell tales with a moral point during a pilgrimage-like journey to flee from the plague; similarly, Dekker intersperses his pamphlets with extended exempla in the Chaucerian manner--in neither cases are the stories as humorous as Chaucer's. Indeed, there is some evidence that such medicinal (in both physical and moral senses) fables had come to be so well developed and secular in content that they were considered ill-advised by some, especially in plague time. Even Lydgate cautions in his Dietary and Doctrine for Pestilence: "To every tale yif not credence" (stanza 14. l.105).

The 91st Psalm's distinction between pestilence and plague indicates that the "plagues" of the Old Testament were not always pestilential. Famine and war could be equally destructive and effective as God's scourges and it is often difficult to determine which "plague" is being meted out in such biblical accounts. Indeed, all through the Old Testament, sword, famine and pestilence are habitually linked--as they often were in actuality--as a trinity of punishments:

Famine, sword and pestilence, are a Trinitie of punishments prepared of the Lord, for consuming a people that have sinned against him. (2 Samuel 24)

This text, as cited by Henoeh Clapham in 1603, was among

the four texts most commonly found in early modern sermons. The remaining two are Deuteronomy 28, cited by Lodge above,³⁶ and Psalm 106:30. All these biblical texts represent an angry God punishing or threatening to punish mankind for his misdemeanours. "God's Hand" (2 Samuel 24), "the sword of God" (1 Chronicles 21), "Arrows" (Psalm 91), and "Angel(s)" (2 Samuel 24), are all associated with the spread of pestilence.

These supernatural mechanisms were, however, inevitably linked to natural explanations in the medical accounts. Most writers debate whether the air, the stars or contagion--or a combination--produced and/or spread the plague.³⁷ Lodge draws on the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Plato, Plotinus, Proclus, Mercurius, Trismegistus, Aristotle and others to help illuminate the mechanisms. His conclusions, not surprisingly, are confusing and contradictory, but "evil air" and contagious people definitely emerge as most dangerous.

When it comes to demonstrating the urgent need for effective "Orders" to limit the spread of the plague to and within the City of London, Lodge appropriately turns to the accounts of city plagues by the Greek and Roman historians, Thucydides and Livy. Careful management is required:

...because the sicknes of the plague and contagion invading a city is the totall ruine of the same by reason of the danger and spoile of the citizens, as are reade in THUCIDIDES of the great plague in Greece, which for the most part ravished the inhabitants of the same, and in TITUS LIVIUS, of divers horrible pestilences that happened in Rome, which by their greatnesse and cruelty made that mother cittie almost desolate and destitute of the better part of the citizens thereof, bringing with it both famine and

fatal indigence. (sig.F1r)

The language of this passage associates urban plague with a city under military siege and undergoing enemy despoliation: "ruine", "danger", "spoile", "cruelty", "ravished", "famine". Elsewhere, for example in Dekker, plague is vividly personified as a merciless, cruel tyrant first laying siege to, then ravaging London. There was clearly a strong mental association between the devastating effects of war and pestilence, which were linked at both an imaginary and literal level, with shortage of food--famine. In Lodge's formulation, Orders are essential to prevent disorder, conceived as despoliation of that other "mother citty" frequently likened to ancient Rome, London.

The range and diversity of Lodge's textual sources are remarkable, though not that unusual for his time. In constructing his version of the bubonic plague of 1603 as well as a formula for its best management, this physician plunders Greek, Christian, Roman and Renaissance writings of the religious, mythical, medical, philosophical and historical generic types, apparently unperturbed by differences which might, to us, seem irreconcilable. The resultant text is full of inconsistencies, for example, with regard to whether humoral disposition predisposes some to infection:

The Plague then ... violently ravisheth all men for the most part to death, without respect or exception of age, sexe, complexion, government in life, or particular condition whatsoever.... (sig.B1v)

"Complexion" and "government in life" apparently make no difference, yet Lodge details good regimen and concludes

his text with:

... by which helps there will be no humors capable of infection, and where there is no matter fit to receive the same, there can it not surprise any man. (sig.L3r)

The confusion is apparent. Lodge's endeavour should, nevertheless, be respected as a genuine attempt to impose some sort of textual authority and order on what was essentially, a baffling medical problem: to feel in control --self-government is integral to this--is arguably healthier in such situations than to admit defeat and succumb to chaos.

Lodge's appropriation of Thucydides' account of the plague at Athens during the Peloponnesian war (430BC) was, in fact, part of a long literary tradition: Ovid, in his mythical depiction of a plague at Aegina drew on it, as did Lucretius in his De Rerum Natura and Boccaccio in his Decameron. It may have been a source, too, for elements of Dekker's description of plague in London. Like the 91st Psalm it occupies a particularly important place in the history of plague representation. Thucydides begins his professedly factual, eye-witness account ("I had the disease myself and saw others"³⁸) by remarking on the high mortality and virulence associated with this plague which was probably typhus fever, transmitted by the body lice which flourish in the insanitary conditions concomitant on war and siege. He proceeds to relate the futility of both medicine and prayers in the face of plague, declining to talk about "causes ... adequate to explain its powerful effect on nature", preferring instead:

... merely [to] describe what it was like, and set down the symptoms, knowledge of which will enable it to be recognized, if it should ever break out again. (p.123-4.)

He is thus signalling that, as an historian, objectivity, not speculation, is his domain. There is perhaps a sense of scepticism, too, regarding current explanations. He details the horrific signs and symptoms of the illness, clinically, without emotion, and then his tone changes conveying a poignancy associated with the first-hand experience of disaster which both Boccaccio and Dekker capture in later plague accounts. The narrative pauses as Thucydides reflects:

Words indeed fail one when one tries to give a general picture of this disease, and as for the sufferings of individuals, they seemed almost beyond the capacity of human nature to endure.(p.125)

Words are inadequate to describe the cruel event yet Thucydides manages vividly to convey the horrific flavour of it by focusing first on evocative visual detail--dead bodies strewn the streets; the disappearance of birds of prey; plague-stricken dogs--and then on the emotional and social repercussions of the fear engendered by plague:

The most terrible thing of all was the despair into which people fell when they realized that they had caught the plague: for they would immediately adopt an attitude of utter hopelessness, and, by giving in in this way, would lose their powers of resistance. (p.125)

"An attitude of utter hopelessness" is again highly visual prompting the reader's imagination to complete the picture of human desolation, where "words indeed fail". Moral dilemmas associated with fear of contagion arose, such as

whether or not one should visit the sick and so risk death in the process. Such problems preoccupy the writers of virtually all subsequent "eye-witness" accounts. Thucydides depicts an Athens gradually demoralized by its sufferings: the dead are increasingly neglected, the temples are polluted by piles of bodies; funeral rites become sacrilegious and the sacred rites of kinship break down, yielding under the destructive emotion of fear. Lawlessness--secular and religious--eventually sets in as men perceive the uncertainty of life and riches and resolve to enjoy themselves while they can. The fabric of civilized society effectively disintegrates--disorder reigns.

Judging by Thomas Lodge's words quoted earlier, the collapse of order in society during pestilence which Thucydides and later, Livy, depicted, functioned as a warning to the authorities in early modern London to act before they faced similar catastrophies. In fact there is no evidence that the situation in London did ever deteriorate to this extent although accounts such as Dekker's (which will be detailed later) function provocatively to suggest a degree of chaos verging on the Thucydidean--designed, perhaps, to cause the city authorities embarrassment and even serve as a rebuke.

Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are the main chroniclers of the recurring outbreaks of plague in Rome during the fifth century BC. Like Thucydides, they depict the disintegration of social values and norms under the impact of major epidemics but, in contrast to Thucydides,

they also record how greatly superstition shaped responses to plague. Comets, eclipses, portents and omens feature strongly in these histories. Early Christian accounts of plague in Rome similarly stress the natural and supernatural omens or "signs" which characterize later Christian depictions. Paul the Deacon describing the appalling summer of AD 680, remarks that eclipses of both sun and moon in May were followed by pestilence in July. In Pavia mortality was such that whole families were carried to the grave together:

... the number of the dead was so great that parents were often carried to burial on the same biers as their children, and brothers along with sisters ... And then many saw with their own eyes a good and a bad angel passing through the city by night.

39

The good angel selected the victims for the bad angel to strike down, notably, given the 91st Psalm, "by night". The city was saved, eventually, by the setting up of an altar to Saint Sebastian: the cult of plague saints was thus established. Levinus Lemnius's association of good and evil angels with the pestilence (as described in chapter one),
40
clearly had a very important Christian precedent.

There is no English medieval equivalent of the introduction to Boccaccio's Decameron, which details the effect of the 1348 bubonic plague epidemic on Florentine society. It was not translated from Italian into English until 1620 but would conceivably have been intelligible to those early modern writers like Bullein, Lodge, Kellwaye and Dekker who had at least a reading knowledge of Latin. They would, if they read it, have recognized the similarity

between the plague they were witnessing in London and the one whose signs and symptoms were vividly detailed here. In its structure and content Boccaccio's description owes much to Thucydides' account. Like his Greek forerunner, Boccaccio represents himself as a first-hand observer depicting human responses and moral dilemmas in the face of the terrible fear engendered by plague: "fathers and mothers refused to nurse and assist their own children"; "wholesale desertion of the sick by neighbours, relatives and friends".⁴¹ Here it is Christian customs which are being flouted and Boccaccio emphasizes the burials being undertaken "contrary to established tradition" partly due to the problem of "insufficient consecrated ground". The mass graves graphically depicted in later "eye-witness" accounts--notably Dekker's and Daniel Defoe's in A Journal of the Plague Year (1722)--are alluded to here, though the Florentine "pits" were obviously much larger:

... huge trenches were excavated in the churchyards, into which new arrivals were placed in their hundreds, stowed tier upon tier like ship's cargo. (p.57)

Boccaccio, too, describes "a kind of grave-digging fraternity" of "sextons" who charged high fees for their services and he highlights the plight of the "common people" which again becomes a feature of English accounts:

Being confined to their own parts of the city [the poor] fell ill daily in their thousands ... no one to assist them ... they inevitably perished ... many dropped dead in the streets. (p.55)

Boccaccio's sardonic wit, his humour and irony, is remarkably close to that achieved by the later Dekker:

... gallant gentlemen, fair ladies, and sprightly

youths, who would have been judged hale and hearty by Galen, Hippocrates and Aesculapius ... having breakfasted in the morning with their kinsfolk ... supped the same evening with their ancestors in the next world. (Boccaccio, p.58)

Here, too:

[In plague time] even the most respectable of people saw nothing unseemly in wearing their breeches over their heads if they thought their lives might thereby be preserved. (p.830)

In plague time normal social decorum is breached as people put personal survival before established custom; this is productive of the characteristic black humour of observer accounts. Dekker alludes, for example, to the "foolery, infidelity, inhumanity ... villany, irreligion, and distrust in God" which his stories "lay open".⁴² Amusing such stories may be, but they also serve to illustrate the human failings which have earned God's pestilential punishment in the first place. Boccaccio's "scandalous⁴³ novelle", which make up the bulk of his Decameron, are far longer and more irreverent than the extended moral anecdotes of Bullein, Dekker and Defoe, but their presence in the text is signalled by a similar marked and deliberate turning away from misery and sorrow to a lighter treatment of the subject: "the more I reflect upon all this misery, the deeper my sense of personal sorrow, hence I shall refrain" (p.58). Stories in such plague accounts serve as an antidote and relief to too much suffering: in Dekker's sardonic words advertising his first plague pamphlet, they "shorten the lives of long winter nights, that lye watching in the darke for us" (title-page, The Wonderfull yeare).

This, by no means exhaustive, survey of plague

representations bequeathed to the Renaissance, identifies two basic lines of development which usually co-exist in early modern writings. The first is centred on a mythology--supernatural and/or natural--to explain the how and why of the affliction. The second is the eye-witness account which details signs, symptoms and the effect of the epidemic on society in visual and moral terms. The supernatural mythology of the plague ties it into a seemingly unrelenting cycle of the fallen human condition: moral depravity and sin leading to God's anger, His punishment (plague), with the possibility of moral cleansing occurring through human repentance and large numbers of deaths prior to man's next phase of depravity. There was some space here for inventive writers such as Ovid to devise an intervening outcome--the unrelentingly industrious race of Myrmidons emerged out of the ashes of the plague at Aegina (Metamorphoses Bk.VII). Often the interpretive-type of plague account is linked to the observation-type so that the bodily signs endorse the mythology. Thus the skin "tokens" of bubonic plague, also present in the biblical plague of Ashod ("they had emerods [swellings] in their secret parts" I Sam. 5:9), "prove" that it is a "blow" or punishment meted out by an angry, vengeful God. Similarly man's self-seeking, callous behaviour under the stress of the plague confirms him in his sin and endorses the need for chastisement and moral cleansing.

Whatever its individual pathology, the outstanding feature of a pre-modern disease plague was its ability to

kill vast numbers of people rapidly and painfully. Time and again the eye-witness accounts stress the vast numbers of unburied bodies "pestering" the living. Such an outcome inevitably engenders fear. Fear for personal survival predominates, undermining normal social relations, values and practices. Plague thus comes to represent the ultimate horror, that of both individual and social disintegration: its effects are matched only by those two competing scourges, famine and war. Ideas about social decay, disorder and instability are thus encoded in the word "plague".

As described in the introduction to this thesis, Lucretius identified the anxiety generated by pestilential disease as the crux of its propaganda appeal to political self-seekers: "You see, all mortal men are gripped by fear" (De Rerum Natura, I.151-4). Within the available interpretive frameworks reflecting and determining human responses to epidemics, this fear could be harnessed in two ways: first, by marking out a person, or more usually a readily identifiable group of people, whose sins or moral deficiencies had incurred the wrath of God on the multitude in the first place; and secondly, by locating the source of the actual disease and its spread in a particular sector--usually a marginal one--of society. To be "scapegoated" as both the moral and the physical polluters of a community was obviously highly unpropitious and dangerous. Following the Black Death the Jews in Europe were in this unhappy position; identified as the agents of the plague they were

caught up in a holocaust of human sacrifice. Lepers, too, were similarly persecuted for allegedly poisoning wells and causing the pestilence.⁴⁴ Lucretius had accurately anticipated (and possibly had observed for himself) the dire consequences of human fear manipulated and manifesting itself in reprehensible ways. His poem, however, testifies to the fact that catastrophes elicit different and co-existing responses within a shaping model of human and social understanding. It is possible that plague representations could function in more positive ways, highlighting actual areas of, and reasons for, social fragility and keeping the excesses of the unscrupulous in check. It is conceivable, for example, that the popular medieval poem A Warning to be ware (On the Earthquake of 1382) originated from a desire to alert the wealthy lords to the social repercussions which could ensue if they did not take the demands of the Commons seriously. It might, indeed, have functioned as a warning, or even as a threat. Alternatively, it might have played a mediating role, warning both factions--rich and poor--that social disharmony was displeasing to God. This is the verse which explicitly connects the Peasant's Revolt of 1381 with fearful pestilence, and the earthquake of 1382:

The Rysing of the comuynes in Londe,
 The pestilens and the earthe-quake,
 Theose threo thinges, I understonde,
 Beo-tokenes the gret vengauce and wrake
 That schulde falle for synnes sake,
 As this Clerkes conne de-clare,
 Nou may we chese to leve or take,
 ffor warnyng have we to ben ware.

45

The poem proceeds to elaborate on the prime sin which is greed for money: for money, the verse declares, many would betray their own father and mother. It seems that a political debate is inevitably contained, but often partially concealed, within moralistic plague representations.

In order to understand how plague discourses functioned in early modern England it would seem wise, therefore, to listen attentively, and in the light of the cultural heritage, to the contending "voices"--elite, popular, medical, religious and poetical--to the way in which they constructed and articulated the plague experience for their times and their culture.

(iii) Plague Rhetoric and the Reformation:

William Bullein's "A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence".

Whilst plague was a real, fearful and recurring phenomenon in the early and middle years of the sixteenth century it was also a metaphorical matter of some import, energizing the rhetoric of both the pro- and anti-Reformist camps. William Bullein's Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence (1564), ostensibly a medical pamphlet written by a physician during the plague epidemic of 1563, rewards analysis in the context of the Reformation debate. The Dialogue has to date been largely neglected or misunderstood by both medical historians and literary critics intent only to salvage from within its polymorphous body that which is pertinent and recognizable for their own

(separate) disciplines. A major contention of this thesis is that it has been insufficiently grasped how a variety of bodies of knowledge which we now more readily see separated into discrete disciplines (religion, politics, medicine, economics) were operating in a far more interconnected way in the early modern period; this interconnection had real consequences for communities, not least for the way in which an epidemic disease like the plague was experienced. It is through this context that I wish to explore how some of the discourses of plague might have functioned within early modern England, beginning with the "plague pamphlet" of William Bullein.

Historians have seen here a medical plague tract written by a physician which also satirizes the successful London alchemical practitioner (active in the 1570s), Burchard⁴⁶ Kranich. Doctor Tocrub of the Dialogue is accepted as an anagram for Dr. Burcot or Burchard who was, as one commentator informs us, "a German physician and metallurgist ... well-known in London but whom Bullein⁴⁷ disliked for some unknown reason". Beyond the anagram--which only appears in the later editions--the text provides no evidence to support this conjecture. Neither Medicus of the 1564 version, nor Tocrub of the later editions, are represented as alchemical practitioners although they do display a greedy delight in rich stones and jewels which may have promoted the analogy. In 1943 the eminent medical historian Henry Sigerist did step outside his medical remit characterizing Bullein's Dialogue as "a didactic play"

which, apart from its medical function, "also showed how various people react in the proximity of death".⁴⁸ This latter is a minor aspect of a complex work. As for medical information, it takes up just a fifth of this book (1564 ed.) which, nevertheless, proved popular undergoing further editions in 1564, 1573 and 1578.

The handful of twentieth-century literary critics who have considered this work have been equally piecemeal in their approach. Largely ignoring the medical content, and perplexed by the fact that it is an unwieldy and unusual piece of satire in the context of the literary canon, they have tried to tame and order it by fixing a recognizable genre label upon it. C.S.Lewis characterized it, for example, as "a full-blown Erasmian 'Colloquy'" whilst Albert Baugh reduced it to a collection of "merry tales" and "jests".⁴⁹ As I shall later show, Bulleyn's tract resists a neat "pigeon-holing" approach: indeed, because of its compendious, "hybrid" form it is easier to state what it does not contain elements of (in terms of literary genre) than what it does. Furthermore, rather like a piece of Continental Mannerist architecture of the same period, it appears to delight in aesthetic transgression, violating generic norms--Classical and English--in a whimsical yet highly engaging "manner" at every turn.⁵⁰ As David Norbrook reminds us in his important book, Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance, the English Reformers' antipathy towards Rome in this period has often mistakenly been conflated with, and construed as, a hostility towards

Italian literary culture when the opposite was more accurately the case. English Protestants were all too aware of the attractiveness of the productions of humanist scholars in Italy, some of whom were themselves destined to be involved in a process of church reform (the Counter Reformation). In addition, English refugees from Mary I's regime, such as Bulleyn, had increased opportunities to mingle and share ideas with humanist exiles from Italy in the Protestant enclaves of northern Europe.⁵¹

Given its preoccupation with variety and extravagance (qualities not now readily associated with either Lutheranism or Calvinism) it is rather enigmatic, but certainly the case, that Bulleyn's pamphlet can be safely classified as a Protestant propagandist work voicing the grievances of the poor Commons. This identification has been missed, ignored, or marginalized by literary critics, perhaps because politics in the modern period has until fairly recently been perceived as distasteful in the context of artistic discussion and more properly the property of a distinct discipline. For the committed Protestant of the sixteenth century, however, politics, economics, medicine, ethics and artistic (especially literary) expression were inextricably bound up with his faith--their separation would have seemed inconceivable and inappropriate. As Norbrook deftly concludes on this latter point: "If the reformers politicised aesthetics, the major Elizabethan poets would appear to have aestheticised politics".⁵² Before proceeding to an analysis of Bulleyn's

Dialogue it is necessary to place his "fever pestilence" in the context of the circulating other "plagues" and "pestilences" in the years leading up to its publication; to re-establish the densely tropological, "plaguy" environment within which this work was located. Surprisingly, given its title, the Dialogue has not previously been approached from this contextualizing perspective, which helps to account for the cursory and unsatisfactory readings of this rich and fascinating work.

Most of the significant plague and pestilence metaphors of the sixteenth century have biblical, or classical roots. The humanist writers seem to have revived and revived many of them: following the classical precedent they were particularly keen on using disease and medical analogies in their political tracts. As we saw in chapter two, alongside the medical books of regimen for ordering the physical body, the humanist educators produced books of regimen for princes, detailing the way to order and govern the body politic. In these books, bad rulers were inevitably likened to plague, as in Erasmus's The Education of a Christian Prince (1516). Indeed, King Henry's anxieties about his "unthrifty" son, Hal, being a "plague" hanging over his country (Richard II V.iii.3), should be understood from within this context.⁵³ Many times Erasmus repeats, "The corruption of an evil prince spreads more swiftly and widely than the scourge of any pestilence" (p.156). He elaborates:

... an evil prince, who is like a plague to his

country, is the incarnation of the devil, who has great power joined with his wickedness. All his resources to the very last, he uses for the undoing of the human race ... Nero, Caligula ... were plagues to the world during their lives, and their very memory is open to the curse of all mankind. (p.157)

Given this discourse, and the popularity of Erasmus's texts, to be accused of being a plague to your country was surely the ultimate humanist indictment. It was the tyrant's association with war which made him such a dangerous, fearful "scourge". In this passage Erasmus revealingly conflates war with plague; the evil prince spreads the plague of war from nation to nation:

War is sown from war ... and the plague arising in one place, spreads to the nearest peoples and is even carried into the most distant places. (p.249)

As might be inferred from these constructions, Erasmus was extremely opposed to war and the Continental warlord-scourges whom he saw tearing Europe apart through the "disease" of political ambition.

For England in the early sixteenth century the threat of civil war probably loomed larger than that of foreign invasion and this is reflected in the deployment of the metaphors. In his engaging Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset (written 1529-32), the Tudor humanist Thomas Starkey analysed the problems of the body politic in terms of specific diseases. Lupset and several other member's of Pole's household at Padua had worked on the Aldine edition of the text of Galen in the 1520s making these medical correspondences particularly appropriate. "Pestylence", Starkey declared, was discord among the "partys of thys body": temporality against spirituality;

commons against nobles; and subjects against ruler.

Furthermore, extending his metaphor to give a graphic and fearful edge to his warning, he lamented:

lyke as a pestylens ... thys dyscord & debate in a
commynalty, where so ever hyt reynyth schortly
destroyth al gud ordur & cyvylte, & utterly takyth
away al helth from thys polytyke body.

54

The greatest source of "dyscord & debate", and threat of civil strife, derived in this period from the reform of the church, and the humanist propagandists (both Protestant and Catholic) utilized the persuasive power of disease imagery to the full. Sir Thomas More was particularly skilled at it and was behind Henry VIII's castigation of Luther's attempt "to enfect you [the English Commons] with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent

55

errours". Words and books were becoming dangerous, spreading the moral pollution of Lutheran heretics and potential social discord by the minute (in England, Lutheranism was often associated with the peasants' rebellions which Luther himself strongly opposed). In 1532 Thomas More described heretics creeping around England with abominable books (Tyndale's unauthorized Bible) among good simple souls, corrupting like a canker. Gatherings of people could spread the contagion like the plague; the biblical Word, "conversacion" and meetings were dangerous--they bred sedition.

56

Starkey's and More's uses of the pestilence metaphor in relation to Commons rebellions (or the fear of social upheaval associated with them) suggests something of an

English tradition if we recall how the Middle English poem A Warning to be ware linked the threat of pestilence with the revolt of the Commons in 1381. There is some evidence that the representatives of the poor Commons launched a campaign of retaliation appropriating the pestilence metaphors for their own purposes. In A Supplycacion to our moste Soveraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght (1544) the "voice" of the Commons addressed the King using disease-energized rhetoric:

I see two foule deformytes and grete lamentable
myschefes annexed to the vocacyon and offyce of
byshops /, which, not reformed, will poyson and
utterly corrupte the godly vocacion and electyon of
the sayd byshops. The one infection and pestylent
poyson is there greate Lordships and domynions, with
the yerely proventes of the same.

57

Greedy clerical landlords and exorbitant rents constituted the metaphorical pestilence feared (and suffered) by the Commons. For the "poor Commons" of England the Protestant Reformation represented far more than simply gaining access to the biblical Word and the moral cleansing of the clergy; it meant economic and social change, too. The closure of the monasteries had, in fact, caused greater hardships for the poor because wealthy "extortioners" were buying up the old abbey lands and enclosing them for sheep at the expense of the ploughmen who were rendered homeless as well as penniless. In 1546 a further Supplication points to an intensification of the Commons campaign enlisting King Henry's help "against the Riches of the Clergy and their
58
extortion of the poor", and again the rhetoric voicing the struggle for the ownership of the Word embodies a

strong economic dimension. The scriptural Word, here, assumes the status of a commodity which can be bought--like food--if you have enough money:

Thei [the clergy] cannot abyde this name, "the Word of God" ... thei have procured a lawe, that none shal so hardy have the Scripture in his house, onlesse he may spend X. pound by yere. And what meaneth this, but that they would famysh the soules of the residue, witholdyng theyr food from them? ... And why do these men disable them for readers of the Scriptures, that are not indued with the possession of this worlde?
("A Supplication of the poore Commons", 1546, p.64)

Spiritual profit is counterpoised against worldly, material profit and moral starvation is equated with actual starvation brought about by the greed of the powerful clergy. The previous year, 1545, had seen a failure of the harvest so many people probably were famished; in some areas the poor Commons were angered and dissatisfied to the point of rebellion. The 1546 Supplication emphasizes how the closure of the monasteries had exacerbated the sufferings of the "impotent" poor: "Then had they hospitals, and almeshouse to be lodged in, but nowe they lye and storve in the stretes" (p.79). The monks ("sturdy beggars") had been replaced by an even worse breed --the "rich extortioners", who:

... buy at your Highnes hand such abbay landes as you appoint to be sold. And, when they stand ones ful seased therein, they make us, your pore commons, so in dout of their threatynges, that we dare do none other but bring into their courtes our copies taken of the coventes of the late dissolved monasteries, ... thei make us believe that, by the vertue of your Highnes sale, all our former writynges are voyde and of none effect. And that if we wil not take new leases of them, we must furthwith avoid the groundes (p.80)

Corrupt legal practices aided the new landlords' avaricious stratagems. In the 1540s there were uprisings associated

with agricultural policy in the West and in Oxfordshire, culminating in Kett's rebellion in East Anglia in 1549. After the suppression of this rebellion, prophecies were spread around Norwich that pestilence would devastate the city as it had done in 1545, and this time kill the enemies⁵⁹ of Robert Kett and the Commons. Metaphorical and actual pestilences abounded in the 1540s both reflecting and helping to produce profound social instability. Plague, famine and civil unrest coincided, and pro- and anti-Reformists claimed God was on their side, His anger directed against the enemy.

Early on in the struggle for church reform that other epidemic disease initially identified as a plague, syphilis, was deployed by the propagandists to tarnish the reputations of the clergy.⁶⁰ Venereal infection was satirically convenient because papist priests had long been accused of sexual laxity. Cardinal Wolsey was dismissed with the help of this alleged dangerous moral and physical disease (he was accused of blowing in the King's ear when he had the Pox) and the monasteries were argued to be justly dissolved because of the similar corruption of their inmates. Blowing and whispering in faces and ears, odious breath, conversation and meetings were firmly associated in both the pro- and anti-Reformists' propagandist writings with moral contagion, heresy and sedition. As plague was a recurring phenomenon in these turbulent years, especially the late 1540s, conversation and meetings were linked to the spread of the actual disease, too.

At least one powerful Englishman was accused (in 1538) of the ultimate heinous crime, that of being a scourge to his country. Henry VIII's "papist" kinsman who had refused to support the royal position on divorce, Cardinal Pole, retaliated against such charges with the following words:

You say, I make many plagues, but lay little or no salve to heal them ... In very dede I make never a plage, when I discover those that be made already.

61

Whose plague was it, indeed? In this letter to the Bishop of Durham, Pole was seeking to disassociate himself from, and to project onto his political adversaries, the dangerous label of plague or sedition-promulgator within the body politic. In the light of the metaphors of Erasmus's The Education of a Christian Prince, the Cardinal was probably associated with an even greater threat, that of foreign invasion: in the late 1540s he was known to have been abroad, urging Pope Paul III to launch a crusade

62

against England.

Given the way the figurative language of plague and contagion is operating in the politico-religious discourses of the Reformation years, it is possible to imagine that writers of popular vernacular medical books such as the Catholic Thomas Phayre (later Queen Mary's legal adviser), had specific political agendas. In his treatise of the pestilence of 1545 Phayre warned his readers that:

... the venemous air itself is not half so vehement to infect, as is the conversacion or breath of them that are infected already, and that by the agreeing of natures.

63

Ultimately this has a Galenic source, but is he perhaps

thinking of the Lutherans here? He moves rapidly on to "counsel every chrysten man that is in doute of thys dysease to cure first the fever pestylencial of hys soule". There is certainly a generalized moral discourse in this plague tract but read from a historically specific viewpoint it is possible that there is a more covert political one too. Any literal face-value reading of contagion as presented in the English medical tracts of these years should definitely be undertaken with caution.

The closure of the monastic hospitals and the reduction of the order of friars from 1535, had increased the need for such medical self-help manuals. Henry VIII's humanist-inspired grammar school programme for literacy also meant that more men would eventually be able to read them, encouraging their production. Local Bishops apparently gave Protestant ministers who were concerned about the gap in the provision for the sick poor strong encouragement to step into the breach.⁶⁴ William Bullein seems to have been of this "concerned" mould for we know that on 5 November 1554 he resigned from his position as Rector of Blaxhall in Suffolk (a living which he had held since June 1550), most probably to study medicine on the Continent.⁶⁵ It is no coincidence, however, that he left England early in Mary Tudor's reign, for as a committed and outspoken Protestant and a kinsman of Anne Boleyn, he was probably forced to flee to escape persecution.

The next most significant aspect of Bullein's biography for understanding his writing is that he is buried (d.1576)

in the same grave in St.Giles Cripplegate as his brother, the Reverend Richard Bullein, and John Foxe, the famous author of Actes and Monumentes of the Church (1563), a voluminous work which details the gruesome persecutions by "papists" of the "godly" martyrs. Like Foxe--and Foxe's notorious friend John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, who devised controversial anti-Catholic plays--Bullein wrote Protestant propagandist tracts, but his masqueraded as medical manuals, "Reduced into the forme of a Dialogue, for the better understanding of thunlearned" (The Governement of Healthe, title-page). This should not be taken to imply that Bullein was insincere in his medical endeavours, indeed, the reform of medical practice appears to have been a key aspect of his vision; but undoubtedly he also made use of the potential of practical medical information to reach a wide audience as a means to disseminate Protestant ideology. His four publications were: The Governement of Healthe, and Bullein's Bulwarke of defence; A Comfortable Regiment Against Pleurisi (1562), and A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence (1564).

The middle years of the sixteenth century were particularly disease-ridden with the "sweat" (influenza) and then bubonic plague sweeping the country claiming the lives of thousands. When, therefore, the Marian refugees returned to England in the late 1550s it would certainly have been a charitable enterprise (no doubt gratefully received) to spread the medical word, which--like the biblical Word prior to the Reformation--had been available

for purchase only by those with sufficient money to employ physicians (as described in chapter one, English doctors were notoriously reluctant to publish in the vernacular).⁶⁷ The analogy was an obvious but very meaningful one to exploit: the returning Protestant heroes were bringing "health" to the commonwealth, for (as Bullein highlights by separating the two components of the word) the "commonwealth". As the voice of "Health" articulates in Bullein's Bulwarke of defence againste all Sicknes, "health" for the godly had important and interconnected moral, spiritual, social and bodily implications:

(Now to conclude) for all infirmities of the bodie, let us seke the comfort of Gods meanes, whiche is the Phisision, and for the griefes of minde, imbrace the heavenly Phisicke, contained in Gods woorde, which is the principall regimente. And further, for a meane betwene them bothe, that eche of us doe walke in suche callyng in this life, that wee maie bee necessarie members, one unto an other, in the common wealthe, to profite eche other, and hurt no bodie. To travell for the fruites of the yearth, or any other riches, gotten by honeste policie, and after to spend them accordyngly. By providyng for our selves, against the tyme of adversitie: To obeie rulers, and pitie the poore, ... that is the somme of Christen religion, of a honeste life, and of a happie ende. (f.lxxiij.v)

As the body must be subject to medical regimen or government both to maintain it, and to restore it to health; so the soul and the commonwealth must be put in order according to a regiment which is prescribed by God and accessible via the biblical Word. The bodily physician, the spiritual physician, and the divine physician are thus the three key authorities and guides on the subject of the godly life and Reformation. It is permissible to toil honestly for worldly gain but once affluent it is a

Christian duty to be provident ("providyng for our selves, against the tyme of adversitie") and charitable. This is the essence of Bulleyn's prescription for a healthy commonwealth which, as both spiritual and medical physician, he was dually qualified to give.

A woodcut portrait of Bulleyn accompanying the 1558 edition of The Governement of Healthe casts an interesting light on Bulleyn's self-fashioning (see Fig.1). It is a representation of a distinguished man clad in a rich fur jacket with lace ruff. His long beard aligns him with the wise prophets but the sculpting of his hair is most revealing for it cleverly suggests (without actually depicting) a laurel wreath, implying his fame and status as both poet and conqueror--this is definitely a portrait of a Protestant triumphant dedicated to the good or "health" of the "common wealth". His literary talents are seen as integral to his role and fitness as Protestant physician and "voice" of the English reform movement. As the title of Bulleyn's Bulwarke of defence suggests, he, along with his former fellow Marian exiles, Foxe and Bale, recognized the important propaganda role of books and drama in the war against "the Antichrist", construing players, printers and preachers "as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the pope, to bring him down".⁶⁸

Two years after the publication of the Bulwarke detailing the Protestant route to "health", Bulleyn wrote his most popular book, A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull, wherein is a godlie regiment against the Fever

Pestilence, with a consolation and comferte againste death,
in which the pestilent body, soul, and the body politic are
exposed and diagnosed by the physician for the "profit" of
the commonwealth. Elizabeth McCutcheon's description of
this work as a very early English "anatomy" akin to John
Donne's Anatomy of the World, and deriving from Menippean
and Lucianic satire,⁶⁹ is enticing and not inaccurate if
we accept Northrop Frye's broad definition of this genre as
a "dissection or analysis" of human life in terms of "a
single intellectual pattern" and characterized by⁷⁰
"exhaustive erudition". However, too much concentration
on establishing a single, recognizable, genre
classification has led the few literary critics who have
grappled with the Dialogue to neglect this text's specific
thematic concerns, its plague literature relations, its
political import and its refusal, beyond representing
itself as a "dialogue" with "twelve interlocutors", to
align itself completely with any model. Even then it does
not conform: the opening "dialogue" is not a dialogue at
all but a dramatic interchange between three characters.

It is, as Sigerist aptly described it, most like a
didactic play, if one imagines the missing scene changes
and sets. To be more precise it is like a sophisticated
morality play making politically specific points. It is
definitely satiric, very witty, highly dramatic and
extremely engaging. There is lots of local colour and
gentle mockery, too, as when the shrewish wife, Susan
(Uxor), who has never before been to the country, reveals

her "wise cockney" (so the marginal note in Bullein's text informs the reader) ignorance as she travels through "Barnett" fleeing from plague-stricken London. Susan spies a fire in a forest clearing which her husband explains is charcoal being made; she exclaims:

Why, is Charcole made? I had thought all thynges had been made at London, yet I did never see no Charcoles made there: by my trouthe, I had thought that thei had growen upon trees, and had not been made. (p.87)

Bullein appears to have had a good ear for dialect, cliché and domestic humour and to have been especially aware of what would appeal to, and entertain, his predominantly London readers.

The Dialogue does not, however, encourage complete relaxation: it demands an alert reader (and it trains the reader to be vigilant and suspicious) to detect both rhetorical stratagems and false seemings--hypocrisy. Thus Civis, who appears to be the moral backbone of the community in the opening "scenes", gradually exposes himself and is exposed by others, as yet another "extortioner" whose actions are cloaked in godly language and deceit.⁷¹ Similarly, just as the Dialogue seems to have moved into and established itself in one recognizable genre, it shifts its shape to another. The world is not what it seems, the Dialogue warns through its structure, its dramatic denouements, and its emblematic pictures which are variously interpreted by the interlocutors leaving the reader to establish the correct moral, having first identified the most reliable commentator. In fact the

Dialogue has elements of complaint, morality play, medical regimen, didactic 'colloquy', death lyric, sermon, eye-witness plague account; as well as containing a recipe book of simples (medicines), a catalogue of emblems, a garden of the Muses and an anthology of English poetry, dream visions, allegory, a warning to be ware, beast fables, a consolation in time of death, a philosophical discourse on the nature of the soul, a dance of death and (in the two editions of 1573 and 1578) a utopia. It is also rich with precepts, proverbs and puns.

Missing the point, C.S.Lewis claimed that the Dialogue⁷² "was trying to do too many things at once"; Herbert G. Wright concurred: "Bullein's work loses through the introduction of too many themes".⁷³ Rather, it is a captivating and exhilarating "tour de force" which was much admired in its day, undergoing four editions and causing Thomas Nashe to inform his readers: "I frame my Whole Booke [Have With You to Saffron Walden] in the nature of a Dialogue, much like Bullein and his Doctor Tocrub."⁷⁴ Although very different in most respects, Nashe's works have, interestingly, caused literary critics similar problems in terms of both interpretation and identification of genre.

Bullein's Dialogue is a truly humanist enterprise designed to correct vices and to "profit" the reader in a manner which would have pleased Erasmus himself:

It is not enough just to hand out precepts to restrain the prince from vices or to incite him to a better course - they must be impressed, crammed in ... in one way and another ... now by a suggestive thought, now

by a fable, now by analogy, now by example, now by maxims, now by a proverb. They should be engraved on rings, painted in pictures ... and, by using any other means [to interest] kept always before him. (The Education of a Christian Prince p.144)

As Bulleyn engagingly puts it:

... if my Chamber, Haule, Gallerie, or any new decked house wer apparelled or hanged all in one mournyng darcke colour, it would rather move sorowe then gladnesse: but no pleasure to the beholders of the same. Therefore the diversitie or varietie of pleasaunt colours doe grace and beautifie the same through the setting forth of sonderie shapes: and as it were, to compell the commers in, to beholde the whole worke. (sig.A2r)

The Dialogue is thus established as a didactic work with a hybrid form whose "diversitie", "varietie of pleasaunt colours", beauty, and "sonderie shapes" are educative tools to "compell" the reader to engage with the "whole"--but what is he to learn (what is this suggestive "whole"?) and what has the plague to do with it?

Later in this "Dedication", to his "singuler good frende" (sig.A2r), Edward Barret, Bulleyn elaborates on the "sonderie thynges" dealt with in his book. He declares:

... I have shortlie described our poore nedie brother his povertie. Callyng upon the mercillesse riche, whose whole trust is in the vain riches of this worlde... (sig.A2v)

His primary design is represented, then, as a complaint about the sufferings of the poor at the mercy of the greedy wealthy. He has not forgotten, also, he adds, to expose that "shamfull sinne ... ingratitude" (sig.A2v). This sounds, so far, like the familiar material of sermons and homilies. Yet another purpose is to provide a medical regimen against the pestilence: "Further, how many meanes may be used against the Pestilence, as good ayre, diet,

medicines accordyngly" (sig.A2v). In his address "To The Reader" he declares another aim to be to describe men's inadequate moral responses in the face of adversity:

Good reader, when adversitie draweth nere to any citee or Towne, and the vengeaunce of God appereth, either by hunger, sicknes or the sworde then mans nature is moste fearfull ... (sig.A3v)

Pestilence is thus construed as a divinely inflicted punishment for sin: like the two other scourges (famine and war) it both renders man full of fear and exposes his "fearfull" (corrupt) nature. Whilst some fall into sudden devotion, others deny the existence of God altogether: Bullein will "describe" all this in his "plaine Dialogue" (sig.A4r). As in the "eye witness" plague accounts of Thucydides and Boccaccio, urban plague presents a special opportunity for the writer to observe and comment on the decay of moral and social values under the stress of human fear.

This all seems fairly predictable within the tradition I have outlined: the familiar material of tracts like Dives and Pauper in the first instance, and of first-hand plague accounts in the second. Plague provides the preacher with the ideal opportunity to rail against sin, especially the moral depravity associated with greed and riches. The only unusual thing is Bullein's intention to combine it with a medical regimen. Next in the Dialogue appears a picture of a skeleton (anatomy and 'memento mori'), his arm resting on a shovel and the words of Sophocles explaining that death is glorious when life is sick, reminding the reader, too,

that death is the great social leveller. The Dialogue proceeds with a list of "interlocutours": a needy beggar (Mendicus); a "model" citizen and his shrewish cockney wife (Civis and Uxor/Susan); a greedy physician (Medicus); a wealthy Italian merchant/usurer (Antonius); Civis's poor servant (Roger); a cheating apothecary (Crispinus); two "Pettifoggers in the law", one with a "goggle-eye" (Ambodexter and Avarus); a traveller and teller of tall tales (Mendax); Death on his steed (Mors) and honest Theologus. Again these are recognizable "types" from late medieval complaint and morality plays like Everyman.⁷⁵ Both themes and characters appear traditional. What Bullein does not give his readers any indication of in the preamble to his text, is the more precise political and anti-Catholic designs of the work. These, he weaves skilfully into the more conventional material of the body of his Dialogue.

The devastating London plague outbreak of 1563 provides the story which is to give birth to the moral and political themes. A "paker" from the North knocks on Civis's door bringing news from the countryside. Civis directs him to the rich merchant's house to beg for alms. The merchant, Antonius, is dying from plague but this does not stop the greedy physician and his apothecary from exploiting him. Medicus discourses on the nature of the pestilence and its management. Meanwhile the two shifty lawyers plot to acquire the merchant's riches using devious practices. Antonius dies, Civis and his wife grow extremely fearful and decide to flee with their servant Roger to the country.

This turns into a pilgrimage-like journey throughout which Roger recounts fables and Mendax tells tall tales. During a thunderstorm Mors descends with his arrows of death. Having just been exposed as an "extortioner" by Roger, Civis is struck down, his wife runs away and Civis is cared for in the end by the good Theologus (a spiritual physician). Roger wonders what will happen to him now, poor and masterless--should he beg, steal, turn pimp or starve? The signs and symptoms of bubonic plague and recipes for "simples" against it are at the centre of the text, while on either side metaphorical plagues abound connecting together the diverse generic forms and plague-related themes. Plague thus structures and unifies the Dialogue giving coherence and shape to a potentially unwieldy project. Modern readers unaware of the dense significance of "pestilence" in the sixteenth century have tended to miss the skilful metaphorical structuring device.

Foremost in Bullein's stated design was the desire to describe "our poore nedie brother his povertie" (sig.A2v). The dramatic dialogue form enables him to do this very effectively, putting the arguments of the poor Commons in the words, first of all, of a worthy beggar, Mendicus. The Dialogue opens with Mendicus begging for alms at Civis's door and his revealing to Civis and Uxor (in a broad northern dialect which Uxor mistakes for Scots) that he has been driven out of Northumberland by marauding Scots. His family have been murdered by them and he has lost all his belongings; through no fault of his own he has been driven

south, to London, to find work and beg for sustenance in the meantime. This history, establishing him as an English countryman who has suffered miserably at the hands of "foreigners" and who is not wilfully idle, is important given the anxiety about vagabonds --especially immigrant ones--in England at this time. The 1560s and early 1570s formed a peak in alien immigration exacerbating unemployment and social tensions and creating convenient scapegoats for England's ills.

76

On his journey south, Mendicus has seen much to open Londoners' eyes (and it is these eyes this text is aimed at). In the country he has observed, "Nene, but aude maners, faire saiynges, safe hartes, and ne devotion" (p.5). Old manners and no devotion are probably allusions to the tardy state of the Protestant Reformation in many places outside the capital. He proceeds:

God amende the Marketh, miccle tulle for the purse,
deceivynge of eche other: in the contrie, strief,
debate, runnyng for every trifle to the Lawiers,
having nethyng but the nutshelles, the Lawiers eate
the carnells, ause muche reisyng of rentes and
gressomyng [? walking] of men, causyng grete dearth,
much povertie, god helpe, God helpe, the warlde is
sare chaunged: extorcioners, covetous men and
hypocrites dooe muche prevaile, God cutte theim
shorter, for thei doo make a blacke warlde, even hell
upon yearth ... I did see muche providence made in the
countrie for you in the citee, which doo feare the
Pestilence. I met with wagons, Cartes, and horses,
full laden with younge barnes, for feare of the blacke
Pestilence. (p.6)

In the light of the pestilence metaphors circulating in England at this time, several might have been detectable in this extract to the alert mid-sixteenth-century reader. The "blacke Pestilence", the bubonic plague, is the punishment

for a sinful "blacke" world where the prime moral pestilence is that of the "extorcioners" who, in the rhetoric of the Supplications were "The one infection and pestylent poyson" of the realm. However, another pestilence lurks here "for you in the citee, whiche doe feare the Pestilence", and that is the threat of an uprising caused by great hardship ("dearth" and "povertie") in the countryside. Employing a sermon-type anecdote to push his point home, Mendicus goes on to elaborate how covetous usurers are like "great stinkyng mucle ... hilles" (p.7) which do not benefit the "lande" until "their heapes are caste abroad to the profites of many" (p.7). By implication, the sin or moral pestilence of the usurers stinks (a common motif in medieval and early modern sermons).

The Dialogue provides the reader with many opportunities to hear and see such greedy usurers' practices. The prime example of the species is the sick Italian merchant, Antonius. He confides to Medicus (who has an Italian name in the 1564 edition):

I have wares of most auncient service, whiche owe me nothyng, bothe in packes, vesselles and chestes ... whiche are not fitte for the retailers. Them do I kepe for shiftes [fraudulent stratagems], when any gentlemen, or longe suter in the Lawe, are behind hande, and knowe not what to doe: then by good sureties, ar assured landes by Statute merchaunt ... I doe sometyme make thirtie, or fowertie in the hundred by yere Further, I have extended upon aunciente landes in the countrie. (p.11)

The word-play here is on "auncient(e)": the old banckrupt landowners are being conned out of their assets and lands by foreign merchants with their new (as opposed to ancient)

money and their shoddy "aunciente" goods. Antonius ironically declares that he has diverse such "honeste waies to live uppon" (p.11). This reads like a cony-catching story in which the villain of the piece is a wealthy man. He tells Medicus how he has "factours" at Antwarpe, "By whom I doe understand the state, and what commoditie is beste" (p.11). "Commoditie" with its material and spiritual meanings alerts the reader to the merchant's exclusively worldly, avaricious designs.

Medicus is equally as greedy: he declares that in Antonius's "last greate Fever" (the moral implication is obvious if we remember Thomas Phayre's "fever pestylencial of hys soule", see above, p.155), the merchant gave him rich rewards, including one hundred "angelles" for his services (p.12). Heavenly and earthly values are again contrasted through the play on angels. It is significant that both protagonists are self-professed atheists. As Medicus describes it (having ensured there are no "blabbes" present to alert the Protestants), "I am a Nulla fidian, and there are many of our secte, marke our doynges" (p.15). There is rich dramatic irony here of course: Protestants reading this dialogue are "listening" to this shocking confession. Interestingly, Bullein's views, implicit in his satirical portrait of Medicus, about what a physician should definitely not be--neither atheist, covetous hypocrite, nor Epicure--seem to mirror those advanced by the University of Wittenberg physicians and anatomists whose spiritual and scholarly leader was Luther's friend,

Phillip Melanchthon (1497-1560). Indeed, it is tempting to speculate that Bulleyn may have trained as a physician in Protestant Wittenberg; unfortunately, however, there is no record of where he spent his years in exile.

A little further on in the Dialogue an emblematic picture reinforces the political message that greedy extortioners are buying up old lands and exploiting their poor tenants by imposing high rents or turning them off the land altogether (the same message that was contained in the Commons Supplications of the 1540s and 1550s). The emblem appears to Crispinus, the apothecary, in a dream-like vision which takes place in his herb (and therefore health-giving) garden. On a tall golden pillar in the middle of a fountain, he sees a tiger with a young child in its clutches. The child has a gold crown on his head and in his left hand he holds a globe called MICROCOSMOS about which is written GLOBUS CONVERSUS EST. The tiger is about to kill the child. In a fashion typical of this Dialogue the emblem is initially misinterpreted in purely worldly terms. Thus Medicus explains that this is the crest of arms of a gentleman from a great house: "descended of the most auncient Romains I warrant you, he is no upstarte" (p.17). A play on "Romains" suggests Italian or Catholic possibilities, rendered meaningful in the light of Crispinus's reading of the emblem. He suggests:

I had thought it had rather signified, the conditions of a cruell tyraunt, or some bloodie conquerour: whiche by usurpation, getting thy victorie of any common wealth, as landes, countrees, or citees, eftsones do spoile the true heires, and owners of the

lande, whiche doe weare the croune, chaunge the state of the Commons to the worser part, spoiling them with the sworde, and bondage, whiche appered by these wordes: Globus conversus est: the worlde is chaunged, or tourned in suche a common weale. (p.17)

A cruel tyrant wielding a sword calls to mind the personified plague/death representations of late medieval homilies (plague deaths led to altered social relations as wealthy merchants bought up the vacated lands) but another plague is hinted at here and that is war, in the form of a "Romain" Catholic crusade. Rome (symbolizing the False Church/Antichrist in Protestant rhetoric) threatens to overturn the "True" (Reformed) Church symbolized by the child wearing the golden crown.

There was nothing new in the representation of the Roman Church and its leaders as a "fever pestilence". Early in the struggle for reform, Protestant propagandists on the Continent--especially German Lutherans--used medical metaphors in mock medical dialogues to drive their message about papal corruption home. Erasmus's friend, Ulrich Von Hutten, for example, wrote two dialogues between himself and "The Fever" (1519 and 1520) in which he attacked the Papal Legate, Cardinal Cajetan as well as his courtiers, the secular nobility and the merchant princes, for their luxurious way of life.⁷⁹ It is very possible that Bullein read this, or something similar, during his time spent in Protestant enclaves abroad, as a Marian refugee.

In the garden of (satiric) Muses which follows, dead English poets like Skelton, Chaucer, and Gower, rail poetically against greed generally and the excesses and

corruption of the Roman Church in particular. In the 1564 editions, the Scottish poet "Sir Davie Linse" is portrayed sitting on a "mounte ... breakyng a sonder the counterfeite crosse kaies of Rome, forged by Antichriste" (f.12v). The Dialogue's catalogue of Muses is reminiscent of John Bale's literary history, Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum catalogus, in which English poets of the pre-Protestant era who spoke out against the abuses of the church (including Chaucer and Langland) are appropriated as religious prophets whose literary talents assisted the triumph of the True Church. For Bale, as for Bullein and Foxe, intellectual vigour evidenced in energetic rhetoric was construed as the opposite of the intellectual stagnation associated with scholasticism,⁸⁰ monks and papist priests and the unreformed faith.

The next piece of anti-Rome propaganda in his dialogue involves the two Lawyer-extortioners, Avarus and Ambodexter, who reveal themselves to be blood-thirsty papists. Railing (ironically, since they identify railing as a Protestant activity) against Protestant preachers (like Bullein) who promote the interests of the poor Commons, they lament the end of Protestant persecutions figured in the person of the notorious "bishop Boner". Ambodexter declares:

Oh I doe remember that reverent mortified father, that holie man bishop Boner, that blessed catholike confessor of Rome, if he were againe at libertie, he would not dallie to mocke theim, but trimelie would roste these felowes, and after burne them, you knowe his workmanship verie well, a godlie man. (p.30)

Another tableau serves to graphically intensify this

dialogue's charge that the Roman Church is like a blood-thirsty tyrant and suggests, furthermore, that it is a rapist and plunderer of foreign lands. Medicus describes some pictures he has "shortned the time with" (p.33) while waiting for Crispinus:

... this pitifull picture of Lucrecia, and this fearfull siege of Pavie: But this Mappe of the description of Terra Florida in America, hath rejoyced me, there the golde and precious stones, and Balmes are so plentifull ... (p.33)

Rape or ravishment, in Protestant rhetoric, symbolized the refusal of the True Church (ie.the Reformed Church) to enter into non-confessional alliances. Julia Gasper describes how this metaphor was "so automatic" in Reformation thinking that the German Lutheran city of Magdeburg which held out so long in the 1540s against the Catholic forces of the Emperor came to regard its name as meaning Virgin-City and so changed the spelling (from the original Magataburg)⁸¹. There is a connection here, too, with the Von Hutten-type representation of exploitative merchant adventurers. Rape (encompassing physical and psychological torture--abuse of conscience--of individuals and states), exploitation and covetousness are all associated metonymically in Protestant rhetoric of this period with Catholicism. Presented with a series of disjointed, apparently enigmatic images, the reader is set to work to make the important connections: an active reader is obviously deriving more "profit" from the text than a passive one. Similarly the reader must discriminate and make choices between the material and spiritual values he

encounters recurrently in the form of word-play throughout the text: "spitefull" is counterpoised against "spiritualle"; "covetous" against "kind-hearted"; "goodes" against "God", for example.

With all the metaphorical pestilences of the Dialogue well-established, God's punishment for them--bubonic plague--takes up its central place in the book. In his medical texts written before the appalling bubonic plague outbreak of 1563, Bullein (or his authoritative personae, such as Humphrey in The Governement of Healthe) was much more vague about what constituted a pestilence although the prevention and management described was similar. It is as if this epidemic, which swept away up to 20% of the population, served to mark its features indelibly on the physician's consciousness. Among the gruesome signs which Medicus lists are "stinking sweate" (p.53)--evidence (though not for this physician) of its origin in sin if we recall Mendicus's description of the "stink" of usurers; and the "pestilent sores [which] do come in the clensing places, as arm holes, flanckes, &c." (p.65) (recalling the signs of the biblical plague of Ashod; see above, p.141). For the godly reader, there can be no mistaking the signs and cause of this plague, then; only Medicus, through his lack of faith and spiritual insight ("nulla fidian"), remains "in the dark". He also describes the septicaemic form of the plague:

But often tymes the Plague sore will not appere; the very cause is this: Nature is to weake, and the poison of the infection to strong, that it can not be

expelled, and this is moste perilous of all ... (p.56)
This suggests that there may have been many such virulent cases in the 1563 outbreak although Bullein probably exaggerated ("often tymes") the extent in order to imply the strength and prevalence of the sin giving rise to infection.

Medicus's advice derives mostly from Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle and Avicenna and when he is not discoursing on the soul in purely Aristotelian terms, or engaging in what the marginal note alerts the reader to as "Epicures talk" ("life is the beste jewell, whiche brynges delices to the hart, pleasures to the eye and eare" p.74), it is basically conventional and sound medical advice for its time. He advises fleeing "evill ayre", avoiding:

Priveis, filthie houses, gutter chanilles, uncleane kept; also the people sicke, goyng abroad with the plague sore running, stinkyng, and infectyng the whole ... (p.62)

Extremes of emotion, especially anger and fear, should be guarded against and he advocates music and pleasant tales for their therapeutic effects. Medicus notably does not advise prayers and repentance, sin playing no part in his construction of the plague. He suggests medicines against the plague, and a "regiment of diet". Medicus is a natural philosopher possibly modelled on Chaucer's "Doctour of Phyisik" in The Canterbury Tales. He is greedy-- another of Bullein's extortioners--but much worse he has no religion except Aristotle's and the "Epicures". Devoid of conscience, he misrepresents the Apocryphal biblical text concerning the physician, Ecclesiasticus 38:1, in order to

procure gifts from his patients. Omitting the phrase "of the most higheste cometh learning" Medicus's text arrogantly proclaims:

Honour the Phisician, with the honor that is due unto him because of necessitie, for the lorde hath created hym, and he shall receive giftes of the Kyng, yea, and of all men. (p.12)

This is no godly charitable physician. He asks the dying Antonius: "How like you this maner of talke, yet here is no scripture, but Aristotle, I assure you" (p.44). When he should be providing spiritual comfort, Medicus dwells entirely on, and extolls, earthly values. It is significant that Bullein's representation of Medicus characterizes him as an Aristotelian, a label which was to become anathema to later Protestant, Paracelsian physicians who prided themselves on their charitable practices and who identified both Aristotle and Galen as heathens proffering corrupt wisdom.⁸² Charles Webster has demonstrated the important role of Paracelsianism (which stood for extending the physician's skills to the care of the poor) in the English civil war;⁸³ Bullein's texts suggest that this idea was central to earlier Protestant designs prior to Paracelsus's influence in England: the godly physician, and there is no place for the physician without faith in the Protestant commonwealth, must be charitable. Another interesting fact in this regard is the high value Bullein placed on surgical practice which was generally regarded as inferior to medical practice in this period. In The Bulwarke of defence, commenting on the virtues of the surgeon, Bullein

declares: "But Nature is the worker, the Phisicion is but her minister. Therefore the Chyrurgicall phisicion is natures servaunt" (f.8). The implication would seem to be that the physician should also be a skilled surgeon, rather than regarding it as a menial trade. It was later sixteenth-century surgeons such as the Protestant William Clowes who adopted Paracelsian medicines and methods with great fervour, priding themselves on their services to the poor, their publications (spreading the medical word), and raising the status of surgery to that of a respected profession.

To return to the Dialogue: Antonius dies and the greedy lawyers make away with his money; meanwhile Civis and Uxor grow increasingly fearful of the might of the pestilence. Civis puts forward his argument for fleeing which ingeniously incorporates more anti-Rome propaganda. He has heard that:

... the Pestilence was like a monsterous hungrie beast, devouryng and eatyng not a few, but sometymes whole cities, that by respiration ... take the poisoned ayre. He lauded HYPOCRATES, whiche saieth ... to remove from the infected ayre into a cleaner swete flowers and spices, perfumes, ... to purge the ayre. And wife feare of death enforced many holie men to flie: as Jacob from his cruell brother Esau, David from Saule: ... the christian men from feare of death, did flie the tyrannie of the Papistes: and although these men did not flie the pestilence, yet thei fled all from feare of death, and so will we by God's grace observe such wholesome meanes, and obeie his divine providence. (p.84)

Civis's reasoning is unsound and reveals his inflated view of his own "godliness" which is later exposed as a sham. He likens his own situation to that of the Marian refugees who, like Bullein, were forced to "flie" from Mary Tudor's

regime. This passage is, in fact, an allegory of the plight of the godly under Catholicism. The "monsterous hungrie beast" is that upon which the Whore of Babylon rides in German Protestant tracts of the sixteenth century. Luther's New Testament of 1522 had carried a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder, showing the Whore of Babylon from Rev. 17 wearing the papal triple tiara and mounted on a seven-headed beast. Tyndale's New Testament of 1552 carried a similar representation. On a more personal note, John Bale claimed that he was "induced to leave the monstrous Corruption of Popery, and to embrace the Purity of the Gospel"; soon after, "so that I might never serve so exacrable a beast [the papal church]", he took a wife, apparently in obedience to that "divine command, let him that cannot contain, marry" (Bale's plays represent papists as Pox-ridden sodomites).⁸⁴ Charges about the sexual indulgencies of the papacy were implicit, then, in Bullein's allusions: the "beast" and "monster" images are linked with the Rome as rapist (sexual extortioner) representations. "Poisoned air" is air (embodying conversation and rumour) tainted by papists. Thomas More's "corrupting" Lutherans are now definitely "wholesome", whilst Catholics "canker" the commonwealth.

Apparently oblivious to the implications of his speech, Civis is resolved to flee to the country taking Uxor, his servant Roger, and "the keyes of my chestes" (p.84). Civis clearly has no intention of providing charitable alms for the poor before he departs. The group's progress through

the countryside amounts to a parody of a pilgrimage, throughout which railing Roger tells fables which are far from the "merrie" sort which Civis desires to hear (p.92). Tales about mice and lions and land and water-fowl are actually allegories serving to highlight the ingratitude and greed of wealthy human-beings. The fables are punctuated by Roger's explanations which detail the plight of the poor in specific terms. He describes the increasing professional monopolies:

... when one manne have anie good profitable trade to live uppon they [the greedy] will covette or use the same, although their poore neighbours do perishe, and that is the cause of much trouble ... now adaies, that everie callying doe pinche and poule eche other, and where the hedge is lowest that commonlie is sonest cast to ground, but the strong stakes will stande in the storme. (p.96)

The smaller tradesman is driven out of business by the larger with more assets. This was a common event in the sixteenth century and appears to have been assisted by a moral rhetoric of professionalisation backed up in the end by statutes and penal sanctions which favoured the more
85
"profitable" concerns.

Roger's railing against extortioners of the poor (especially the Catholic variety who are represented as the worst) steadily gathers momentum culminating in angry outbursts against the "oppressor of poore men" (p.103), identified as "gentleman degenerate, yet sprong of good blood". He exclaims:

Oh that the Usurers gooddes were confiscated after their deathes to the common poore, as in case they had slaine themselves ... (p.104)

Given that peasants' uprisings of the early sixteenth century sometimes took the form of secular pilgrimages,⁸⁶ these speeches could contain the threat of another pestilence, that of civil rebellion caused by the unfair treatment of the poor by the wealthy. It is particularly noteworthy, in the light of Mendicus's earlier detailing of the particular hardships of the poor in Northumberland, that the 1536 rising in Lincolnshire and the North was known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁸⁷ The Northern Rebellion which was to take place in 1569-70 (five years after Bullein's tract was first published) again reflected the dissatisfaction of the North, of which large parts were still predominantly Catholic, with policies which were put into place by a Protestant elite based in London. Quite possibly, then, a timely "warning to be ware" directed at that elite as well as to the extortioners, is partially camouflaged in the Dialogue.

The new Protestant Establishment under Elizabeth I had taken several measures in the early 1560s to try to deal with inflation and to avoid a Commons rebellion: in 1560-1 coinage was revalued and in 1563 parliament passed a series of important statutes including a Poor Law, a tillage act (to regulate enclosures), and the Statute of Artificers which attempted to regulate labour, wage-rates and apprenticeship.⁸⁸ It is significant that these steps were taken in a major plague year: plague tended to accentuate economic difficulties and push those already living at subsistence level below the breadline. Bullein's Dialogue

suggests that these measures were considered insufficient to deal with the increasing hardships of the poor and the threat of rebellion (particularly in the North) this posed.

A little further on in the tract, as if to deflect any charges against it, Roger, the "preacher", describes the reprehensible practice of lawyers who, "go about to stop the Preachers mouthes... accusyng theim of railyng, slaunderyng, or sedicion" (p.115). In Roger's opinion, and probably Bullein's, too, the only way to eradicate all this pestilence is "a better reformation". This is underlined in an apocalyptic speech:

Light and darckenes can not agree, neither the lawiers, and the divines, untill a better reformation be had. All this I heard a wise man saie, and an honest man to. He said also now adaies, how mens Fermes are taken over their hedde ten yeres, or their leases are expired: and how iiij servyng mens wages for one yere will not paie for one paire of their hose: ... I thinke the daie of Dome is at hande.
(p.116)

Bullein's marginal note instructs the reader "Note this well": the medical and social physician is endorsing Roger's warning--attend to the just grievances of the poor or there will be trouble! The plight of the poor is construed as inseparable from the ideals of the Protestant Reformation and this is constant throughout Bullein's writing. In keeping with this Catholics are, rather predictably, consistently represented as the worst extortioners of the poor of England and of the natives of the New World ("Terra Florida").

A stop-over at an "inn" produces another opportunity for emblematic pictures to reinforce the words of the Dialogue

but also, rather ingeniously, for Bullein's work to participate in the early Elizabethan Protestant debate surrounding iconoclasm. On entering the parlour Civis declares:

This is a comely parlour, very netly and trimely apparelled, London like, the windowes are well glased, and faire clothes with pleasaunte border aboute the same, with many wise saynges painted upon them.
(p.119)

Civis and his companions are initially attracted to the pleasantness of the room ("comely parlour"); its decoration ("faire clothes", "pleasaunte border"); then to its "wise saynges" which accompany strange and "goodly" pictures on the parlour walls (p.85). Referring back to Bullein's words introducing and justifying the form of his Dialogue (p.1): the colour and beauty of the room appear to "compell the commers in to beholde the whole worke" (sig.A2r). Uxor's curiosity is aroused by the strange images and the golden letters; she repeatedly asks her husband to explain their significance. Civis proceeds with the help of the inscriptions to decode the murals and correctly construe them as various depictions of godly and evil living and representations of the True Church oppressed by the False Church--"the malignaunte Sinagoge of Antichrist (p.129). Civis's spiritual re-education (for, as is later confirmed, he too had become subject to "belly-god" degeneration) is apparently assisted by pictorial images (accompanied by words), just as colour and variety of shape in literary expression are construed by Bullein as aiding the reader's engagement with, and thereby maximising the "profit" to be

had from, the "whole work".

Again, this lengthy episode (twelve pages) aligns Bullein's work with the earlier endeavours of Bale and Foxe. The title page woodcut of Foxe's Acts and Monuments had followed Bale (in the Image of Both Churches) in setting "The Image of the persecuted Church" against "The Image of the persecutying Church". Bale, Foxe and Bullein were certainly among those who considered themselves agents of the True Church, bringing to light the history of the persecuted which, as Foxe put it, had long been "trodden under foot" by oppressors. "Showing" this history in print was conceived--in line with Luther's teaching--as a valuable adjunct to "telling" it in words. As Ernest Gilman describes in Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Renaissance, Luther (unlike Calvin), approved of images for "memorial and witness", for the sake of better remembrance and understanding. At one point Luther even declared invitingly:

Yes, would to God that I could persuade the rich and mighty that they would permit the whole Bible to be painted on houses, on the outside and inside, so that all can see it. that would be a Christian work.

89

In the early 1560s Protestants in England were divided over the issue of images. Whilst John Jewel followed Calvin in The Institution of Christian Religion, enlisting the testimony of the prophets against the use of images for the better education of the unlettered, Thomas Harding spearheaded the pamphlet campaign of the opposing camp arguing--with Foxe and Bullein--that "pictures have great force to move men's hearts".

90

Colour, variety and humour are essential ingredients of Bullein's didactic method; thus the stop-over at the inn also provides the opportunity for an encounter with Mendax "in a greene Kendall coate, with yellowe hose ... a russet hatte" (p.141) whose tall tales of "Terra Florida" (p.142) bring a great deal of light relief after the doom and gloom of Roger's preaching and the bleak emblematic depictions of the oppression of the True Church and its followers. Mendax describes, for instance, how "Our men gather up Carbuncles and Diamondes with rakes, under the spice trees" (p.150). The reader, now well-primed to be alert and critical, will notice the pun on "Carbuncles": it is this greed for riches which inflicts pestilent carbuncles (plague sores) onto the world.

Into the unreliable Mendax's mouth is put the description of a Protestant utopia, no doubt in order that the reader will consider it more carefully. In Taerg Natrib (an anagram which suggests and rejects Great Britain simultaneously):

There is no mingled doctrine, no tromperie of Papistrie, but the naked, true, and perfite worde of God. No flattering in the preacher, neither railing, but teaching truly every manne his duetie to GOD, their prince, and one to another: with collections of mony for the poore ... the idle are sette to woorke, or sore punished for slothe there the women are verie huswifly, the men homely, great labor, little silke is worne, no jewels, no light colours ... no cockscombe fethers, no double ruffes ... Plaine, plaine, plain, both in word & dede, much hospitalitie, speciallie among the Cleargie, no pride among them, but mercie, mercie, and pitie, pitie ... (pp.162-168)

This utopia, added in the 1570s and covering several pages,

smacks a little at times of extreme Puritanism and at others of more mainstream Protestantism. Given the tradition of utopia writing which suggests they do not reflect the writer's ideal, it is improbable that Bullein's perfect commonwealth is mirrored in this rather inconsistent vision. Bullein's colourful and extravagant Dialogue is itself far from "plaine"; his own dress, in 1558 at least, was not "plaine" and Taerg Natrib certainly treats the poor more harshly than they appear to deserve given the positive representations of them in the Dialogue. This might simply reflect the later context: harsher poor laws were being called for in the 1570s--the Protestant elite was less sympathetic to the plight of the unemployed. It is highly likely, however, that Bullein's utopia encodes a certain unease about a new generation of Protestant extremists (Puritans) whom he found too intolerant: his old friends Foxe and Lawrence Humphrey are known to have⁹¹ harboured such misgivings. Whatever its import, it has to be said that the appended utopia section sits uneasily in the Dialogue, spoiling, a little, the coherent vision and symmetry which characterizes the 1564 edition.

The climax of the Dialogue is undoubtedly the exposure of Civis as yet another extortioner. Roger unwittingly points out his master's lands (as the group passes) on which he acts as bailiff and about which Uxor knows nothing. In his shame, Civis has kept his shady deals hidden. Oblivious, Roger recounts what a good bargain they were and how the old tenants have now forfeited their

leases "and are gone on beggyng like villaines, and many of them are dedde for honger" (p.170). The text forcefully instructs its reader that this is how beggars are made, and by ungrateful Protestants, too, who have had their origins, like Civis, in poverty. The passage also casts doubts on Roger's character since he has assisted Civis's manoeuvres as his bailiff: Roger's railing, then, might have concealed more selfish designs not unlinked to his dangerous seditious speeches. There is certainly nothing in this tract to indicate that Bullein advocated rebellion as a corrective to social injustices. His role was more that of a mediator, "voicing" the plight of the poor to a new Elizabethan Protestant establishment with whom he undoubtedly identified. Certainly Bullein (himself descended from "auncient" stock) appears to have been sceptical and uneasy about "jumped up" men like Civis: Cardinal Wolsey had earlier been presented disparagingly as a "jumped up" man as well as a papist. Indeed, "the world is changed" conveys a certain unease about social relations where the new wealth replaces the "auncient" and old social values, supposedly characterized by interdependency and reciprocity, are lost. At any rate, Civis's sin of ingratitude and his presumption catch up with him--another 'warning to be ware'--and death from plague is the appropriate punishment. Mors descends armed with his darts (as in Everyman) to mete out justice:

I dooe see a fearfull thyng in the cloudes appering, a blacke, leane, naked bodie, very long, ridyng upon a pale, miserable, foule jade: he hath also three dartes in his left hande all the wicked shall come to us

... (p.172)

Civis ends his life in the company of Theologus who, unlike Medicus, proffers appropriate--spiritual as opposed to "Epicurean"--instruction to a dying man. Theologus's sermonical text particularly stresses "the hurte of riches":

How noisome to the soule is riches. The vrieie minister, of, or to all civill rule, and mischief, as dampnable Usurie, Adulterie, treason, Murther, it maketh one proude, high minded, and forgetfull of hym self ... (p.105)

A common cause of destitution in the sixteenth century derived from servants losing their livelihoods and homes through their masters dying from the plague without making provision for them: such is Roger's plight which is powerfully foregrounded by Roger himself ruminating on the bleak options open to him. The master-less servant concludes pessimistically that, "these Dogge trickes [criminal activities like stealing and pimping] will bryng one to the Poxe, the Gallous, or to the Devill" (pp.187-88). Bullein does not sanction criminal behaviour but he does highlight one important route whereby knavish vagabonds are created, especially in plague time. The message is that a godly master should not leave his servants in this dire predicament--he should exercise "providence" against it.

In this plague pamphlet the self-styled Protestant prophet William Bullein--spiritual, medical, and social physician--both diagnosed his nation's ills, and prescribed cures for them. Pestilence, for Bullein and his fellow

Protestants, was always a consequence of sin--predominantly the collective sin of a sector of the community, although those lacking moral and religious fortitude (who did not practise proper regimen of body and soul) were particularly susceptible to infection of the physical and moral kinds. In the Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence, the sinners who bring down the wrath of God on England in the form of plague are Catholics, "non fidians", and dishonest, hypocritical Protestants who taint the True Church. They, like the Roman Church (which poses a global threat), are all extortioners of the poor whose greed threatens the nation (and the world) with social and political instability as well as the plague.

Chapter 4

Late Elizabethan and Jacobean representations of Plague.

(i) Shifting "Plagues":

The Topography and Ordering of London's "Plagues"

(1563-1625)

"he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be" (Leviticus 13:46)

Whilst Bullein's socially aspiring and reprehensible Medicus located the worst focus of the 1563 London plague in the "sluttishe, beastly people, that keepe their houses and lodynges uncleane ... their laboure and travaile immoderate" (p.51), the complete Dialogue conveys the opposite impression. A rich merchant and an affluent citizen fall victims to the pestilence, their sins as extortioners increasing their susceptibility to infection. In fact, no poor people catch the disease in the Dialogue, though they do suffer when their masters die from plague. How are we to understand this? Was Bullein's representation of the social distribution of the plague's victims entirely dependent on the requirements of his Protestant, moral message or did it have some basis in fact? If plague mortality was as great (or higher) among the wealthy in 1563, does Medicus's description of the pestilence-prone poor identify him as a stigmatizer of them--another instance of his failings as a physician?

Medicus's negative, judgmental account of the living conditions and habits of the "beastly people" does seem to

anticipate dominant constructions of the "base sort" in later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century elite discourses-- particularly those of the Protestant establishment (in church, medicine and state).¹ By putting such words into the mouth of a greedy, unpleasant, extortioner/physician, Bullein may be highlighting and expressing timely disapproval at his society's increasing tendency to identify the growing numbers of "have nots" (the unemployed, immigrants, disbanded soldiers, who were flocking to the capital) as the disease polluters and criminals of London--the new moral pestilence of the metropolis. A rhetoric of social division expressing anxiety about the "unruly poor" was clearly gaining ground in London in this period and by the early seventeenth century it was heavily impregnated with pestilence language and associations. King James's Proclamations are particularly noteworthy in this respect. In his "Proclamation for the due and speedy execution of the Statute against Rogues, Vagabonds, Idle, and dissolute persons" (17 September 1603), for example, James described how the realm had been "much infected" with these idle types in Elizabeth's reign: his desired solution was to banish these "incorrigible and dangerous Rogues" to "some place beyond the Seas".² I shall argue that it is within this socially polarized cultural location that the plague pamphlets of Thomas Dekker should be situated and viewed.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the social construction of the plague changed considerably: its actual

location altered and its metaphors shifted from people like Bullein's Catholics and rich extortioners to London's unemployed, its theatres, Puritans, whorehouses and criminals. The first section of this chapter will examine the geographic, demographic and social transformations, and the facilitating metonymic chains of contagion, which between the 1560s and the 1590s pinpointed the liberties and suburbs of the capital (together with their inhabitants and structures) as the focus of moral and physical pollution, posing a threat to the City and its respectable inhabitants and warranting urgent "ordering".

The surviving statistics from parish registers reveal that the 1563 plague caused far greater mortality in the wealthy inner-city parishes than in the suburbs. Indeed, the ten worst affected parishes were all well within the City walls.³ This meant, of course, that unless the affluent City families had fled to the country during the plague they would have been considerably affected by the epidemic. It is probable that the statistics reflected the existence of pockets of slums and poverty among the wealthier City residences. Given, however, that the "sweating sickness" of the early 1550s may have had a special predilection for the male social elite; and the "burning" or "general" fever, of the late 1550s affected all classes,⁴ it might well have appeared to Londoners in the early 1560s that wealth was no protection against disease--perhaps even the opposite (especially in the light of the age old homiletic association of riches and pride

with pestilence). The social crisis of the 1560s certainly seems to have been exacerbated by large numbers of servants losing their masters (and thus their livelihoods) to disease and death in the particularly epidemic ridden years of the mid-sixteenth century. Bullein's representation of the plague's well-to-do victims in his Dialogue might not, in this context, have appeared socially biased to his contemporaries. Medicus's denigration of the hard-working (having "travaile immoderate") poor as "sluttishe, beastly", uneducated and a focus for infection might well, however, have appeared prejudiced, uncharitable and unchristian, exemplifying this Aristotelian physician's corrupt mentality.

In the 1625 plague the distribution of mortality was very different with the poorer parishes beyond the City walls suffering most casualties.⁵ Effectively between 1564 and 1625 the plague appears to have changed its prime location. Immigration, overcrowded dwellings and poor sanitary conditions, all, it seems, became more extreme and prevalent in the liberties and suburbs; even more important, the grain stores were located outside the City walls and these, together with the increase in slums and debris, would have attracted the rat population that spread the plague. As John Stow's Survey of London reveals of the 1590s, a significant proportion of the land previously occupied by monasteries, alms-houses, nunneries and hospitals, had been bought up by "merchants" for property speculation. Of Tower Hill Stow declares:

... the plain there is likewise greatly diminished by merchants for building of small tenements Also without the bars both the sides of the street be pestered with cottages and alleys, even up to Whitechapel church ... all which ought to be open and free to all men. But this common field ... is so encroached upon by building of filthy cottages ... and laystalls (notwithstanding all proclamations and acts of parliament made to the contrary).

6

The link between pestilence and overcrowding is acknowledged here in the depiction of the street, "pestered with cottages and alleys". As Stow indicates, numerous ineffective acts were passed in the late sixteenth century to try to halt the development of slum areas and the diseases they were felt to encourage. King James took a personal interest in the quest to move the "idle" poor out of the remaining overcrowded tenements inside the City walls, claiming in a Royal Proclamation (16 September 1603) that these "dangerous persons" living in "small and strait Roomes" spread the plague to other persons of a "principall" quality. In a later Proclamation (12 October 1607) he gave orders that any new houses within the walls must "not be inhabited but by persons of some abilitie".

London was growing rapidly in spite of its poor hygiene arrangements and its recurring epidemics: in 1560 its total population was 110,000; in 1600, 185,000; and 1640,

7

355,000. Most of the expansion took place in the suburbs, to which the unemployed and homeless flocked looking for work, sustenance and shelter. Enclosures and bad harvests (particularly 1562, 1586, 1594-7, 1622) in the English countryside; an influx of Protestant refugees from the religious wars on the Continent; and the disbandment of

8

soldiers, encouraged an explosion of people in the capital who were, in these circumstances, disproportionately poor, needy and sick. Inevitably, they constituted a burden and a source of anxiety to London's freemen from whom its governors were drawn.

In the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods other things situated in the liberties and suburbs were causing some sections of London's Protestant authorities considerable concern. The "infection" associated with plays and playhouses had long been the subject of extreme Protestant rhetoric. On the 22 February 1563, Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, had warned the statesman William Cecil in a letter:

By searche I do perceive that there is no one thinge of late is more lyke to have renewed this contagion, then the practise of an idle sorte of people which have ben infamous in all goode common-weales ... common players, who now daylie, but speciallye on holydayes, set up boothes wherunto the youthe resorteth excessively, and there taketh infection: besydes that Godde's worde is by theyr impure mouthes prophaned and turned into scoffes.

9

Grindal advised that a Proclamation was needed to ban "playes for one whole yeare ... within the cittie, or three myles compasse": he wanted to stop the popular religious drama of the medieval cycles (associated with unreformed Catholicism) and maintained such heretical gatherings spread the plague, moral disease and social unrest too--a triple evil which through the course of the century informed a powerful linkage and conflation of plagues with playhouses especially in Puritan discourse.

10

Before long, Puritan extremists were themselves being

targeted as contagious "pestes" by the Protestant establishment in the church and city and, in the early seventeenth century, by King James himself. In Basilicon Doron (1599) he had warned the heir to the Scottish throne:

Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to these Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weill of Scotland, ... breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies; aspiring without measure, rayling without reason ...

11

Undoubtedly his experience in Scotland would have rendered him highly suspicious and fearful (especially following his accession to the English throne) of similar radical

12

elements in the English church. Large unorthodox religious meetings, and their strange bedfellow of popular plays, were thought by some to give rise to the spirit of enthusiasm which bred social unrest as well as disease. Indeed, the traditional equating of political sedition and plague was most pronounced in the fears expressed about such meetings and assemblies. In the plague epidemic of 1592-3, for example, Bishop Aylmer declared his unease about the opportunities which long services associated with plague-fasts gave for Puritan enthusiasm and, he maintained, for the spread of the infection through "thick and close assemblies of the multitudes".

13

The city-fathers' anxieties about gatherings was not, perhaps, misplaced. Roger Manning's research suggests that between 1581 and 1602 the City was disturbed by no fewer than thirty-five outbreaks of disorder associated mainly with economic disasters, protests against the administration of justice or the influx of alien workers.

14

On 29 June, 1595, a crowd of London apprentices (and possibly some of the capital's discontented soldiery), approximately 1000 strong, marched on Tower Hill; their exact grievances and intentions are unclear but the subsequent legal proceedings claimed they sought :

... to robbe, steale, pill and spoile the welthy and well disposed inhabitaunts of the saide cytye, and to take the sworde of authorytye from the magistrats and governours lawfully authorised.

15

This rhetoric articulates the fears of the "welthy and well disposed" about their "authorytye" being subverted and their possessions being stolen. The food riots of the 1590s and the many public libels threatening action against aliens suggest that competition for scarce resources including food and jobs may have lain at the heart of the

16

apprentices' grievances. Poor harvests and the plague of 1592-93, which further depressed trade at home and overseas, no doubt fuelled the massive price inflation of this period. Ian Archer has estimated that the harvest failures of the mid 1590s meant that the poor had to increase their incomes by thirty-three per cent if they were to maintain their standards of the early 1580s.

17

This, together with large-scale unemployment, undoubtedly meant that those who were not wealthy were experiencing hardships, even hunger, serving to provoke political action of the above type. Whether the riot of 1595 represented a negotiating strategy or more radical subversion is the subject of a continuing debate--what is clear is that there was, at least, a perceived social crisis in the capital in the 1590s.

Disorder, like the plague, was becoming endemic, and like the plague, the playhouses and the whorehouses, it was now closely associated in elite rhetoric with the liberties and suburbs of London and with the increasing body of "vagrants" or masterless men and women who dwelt there, allegedly threatening the City and its "well disposed" persons with crime and violence, as well as physical and moral disease. Apart from hanging the ringleaders the response of the authorities to the 1595 riot was to declare martial law in the capital and then to set about "clensing" the City of vagrants.¹⁸ The logic connecting vagrants with the apprentices is not obvious but the incursions of the former into the City were clearly felt to pose a considerable threat which could be targeted for ordering. Perhaps they were more readily identifiable and easier to manage than the apprentices, providing a focus on which to project fears and exact punishment. The rioters who were caught were publicly whipped as vagrant rogues. Vagrants were certainly linked to the robberies which the "welthy" worried about but perhaps "vagrant", like "vagabond", was just a rather vague but disparaging term which could be used conveniently to encompass a multitude of types considered undesirable by the freemen of the city. Slack suggests that after the Northern Rebellion of 1569 vagabonds were mythically but powerfully linked to rebellion.¹⁹ Whatever the origin of the connection, following the 1595 riot a special commission was set up to deal with the problem of vagrancy in the metropolis.

Whipping-posts appeared all over London in line with the legislation of 1598 which, adding to that of 1593, replaced ear boring and death with the milder punishment--which could be, and was, better enforced--of whipping. Provost marshals were appointed in 1596 to oversee the work of the constables who were constantly admonished to: "travayle to clense the stretes of the greate numbres of beggers that noye the citie dayly".²⁰

The crux of the City's front-line strategy for dealing with social unrest and crime was, it appears, quite simply to attempt to keep the threat outside the City walls--to sweep it away and restore cleanliness. Undesirables who were unlucky enough to be caught inside the City limits were whipped and banished or carted off to Bridewell. How far this boundary enforcement was a response to actual criminal activities in the City, and how far it reflected a psychological need for separation based on fear, is impossible to know, but a growing obsessional anxiety concerning what lurked in the liberties is evident in the city-fathers' impassioned hygiene-ridden rhetoric. Increasingly the liberties and suburbs of London are construed as the preserves of idleness, poverty, disorder, dirt, infection, contagion, unruliness, stench, rogues, vagabonds, vice and plague: in such discourse metonymic associations elide readily into metaphors and the marginal poor tend to become synonymous with stench, filth and plague. Medicus's "Slutishe, beastly", infection-prone sort were, in fact, the rhetorical precursors of the liberty

dwellers. Conversely, inside the City walls dwelt the wealthy, provident, godly, clean, healthy and "well-disposed", whose well-being was continuously threatened by the transgressions of the baser sort. The negative attributes of the suburb dwellers were shared by the structures located there. The Lord Mayor of London's letter to Lord Burghley in 1580 contains a typical expression of this:

Some things have doble the ill ... both naturally in spreading the infection, and otherwise in drawing God's wrathe and plage upon us, as the erecting and frequenting of houses very famous for incontinent rule out of our liberties and jurisdiction.

21

In 1601 Sir Stephen Soame, City girdler and grocer, complained to parliament that the liberties were:

... the very sink of sin, the nurcery of naughty and lewd people, the harbour of rogues, theeves, and beggars, and maintainers of idle persons; for when our shops and houses be robbed, thither they fly for relief and sanctuary.

22

Geographical location, then--inside and outside the City walls--articulated and reflected a growing social polarization and widespread fear about disorder and subversion in early modern London. Associating the poor with the pestilence became increasingly common as the seventeenth century proceeded. John Ivie was among the magistrates of the 1630s, for example, who felt themselves threatened during an epidemic by "unprofitable and wasteful ... idle and naughty ... unruly, base sort of people" : the "great unjust rude rabble".²³ Bubonic plague in the 1590s and 1600s was, it seems, both an integral element, and key expression of, fear and disorder.

From the city governors' perspective all this personal and urban disorder had to be brought under control if England's mercantile capital was to remain in business supplying the nation (and itself) with wealth. As described in chapter one, the medical plague tracts of the 1590s and early 1600s voice this growing civic imperative in relation to the control of plague and demonstrate an increasing preoccupation with "order." Simon Kellwaye's A Defensative Against the Plague (1593), for example, provides a regimen for cleaning up the individual body and home and then deals with ways to make the city more hygienic. His text is infused with a spirit of duty and a desire to order things, to clean them up, to replace bad smells with good by strewing flowers and herbs and burning sweet woods. Each item of regimen should be carried out habitually, in a particular way, at a specific time of day. It is as if he is seeking to counter the bodily and social derangement and turmoil threatened by the plague through a strictly regimented approach to life--order pitted against potential chaos. For Kellwaye, as for Lodge a decade later, urban stench, dirt and infected people and their clothing are most closely associated with the spread of the infection.²⁴

In some medical regimens, as we have seen, the "evil" associated with the plague occasionally shifts on to the people infected with it, and discussions about evil angels and spirits, sick souls, moral contagion and the power of the imagination to infect, intensify and increase as the sixteenth century draws to a close.²⁵ All this occult

speculation can only have served to intensify people's fears about contagion and anything to do with it--like dirt and the people who lived in it. Shutting infection out (isolating it from you or you from it), trying not to think about it and running away, were the prime defences against plague and, for some, against moral and social "infection" too.

The city rulers did, however, recognize the urgent need for more practical, long-term policies and an increasing barrage of Acts from the 1580s on, reveals just how closely interwoven ideas about bodily, moral and social diseases had become. Plague Orders were put together by physicians under the instructions of the Privy Council and the London regulations of 1583 were endorsed, very revealingly as, "Orders set down by the Lord Mayor for repressing of disorders": the symmetrical counterbalancing of orders with disorders in this construction is striking.²⁶ Among the Orders were that: houses should be shut up with their inmates--sick and well--for six weeks; bedding and clothing of the sick was to be aired; funerals carefully regulated; streets cleaned and vagrants expelled. However, and very unfortunately, there was no consensus on how the sick should be looked after and how their care and control should be financed. The City corporation vehemently resisted the "general taxation" suggested for this purpose in the Privy Council's 1578 draft of the Orders, maintaining that church collections and charitable donations were adequate. Indeed London seems to have lagged

behind many other English towns in this respect: it was not until 1608 that the London Orders tackled the problem by imposing a weekly tax in infected parishes but this was accompanied by the dropping of a clause which had enabled²⁷ one member of each isolated household to be at liberty.

"Shut up" households were now far more dependent on outside help for sustenance; if the system failed them they could starve. There is also some evidence that "shutting up" was²⁸ selective, targeting the homes of "the poorer sort".

Playhouses, gambling and whorehouses were also targeted for shutting up in plague time.

In 1603 Robert Cecil had been warned about London's "unruly" infected whom some felt needed sharper punishment²⁹ to control them. This came about in a rather harsh way in 1604 when the policy of isolating the infected was backed up by penal sanctions. Anyone with a plague sore found wandering outside could be whipped as a vagrant rogue and if in company with others he could be hanged (though apparently no one was executed for this). Vagabonds plagued the City and like the evil smells and "plaguy" bodies they needed to be kept out: they were to be rounded up by searchers and sent to Bridewell. Poor Law measures, plague Orders and sanctions against criminals suddenly converged in the 1604 Act which maintained its aims were: "the³⁰ charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the Plague". Plague had become a penal matter associated closely with the unclean, "unruly" poor, especially the unemployed living outside the City walls--the place of the

31

plague, "the sinfully-polluted Suburbes".

But were the boundaries of London literally the place of the "plagues"--of biological, social and moral disorder--between 1592 and 1610? Historians have recently called into question whether the liberties and suburbs were as disordered, unpoliced and packed with criminals as contemporary elite accounts maintained. Archer has gone so far as to suggest that the fears many of the governors expressed about disorder were exaggerated, unjustified and possibly even part of a rhetorical strategy to win the support of the "middling sort" for punitive legislation

32

against the poor. Certainly Stow's Survey does not convey a picture of an ungoverned, and corrupt marginal territory in the 1590s and as well as the "small tenements" there are gardens and "fair summer-houses". If anything, he is critical of the way new wealth is being spent in the suburbs, as in this passage where he is discoursing on "inclosures for gardens":

... wherein are built many fair summer-houses; and, as in other places of the suburbs, some of them like Midsummer pageants ... not so much for use of profit as for show and pleasure, betraying the vanity of men's minds, much unlike to the disposition of the antient citizens, who delighted in the building of hospitals and alms-houses for the poor ... and spent their wealths in preferment of the common commodity of this our city. (p.382)

Stow was suspected of being a Catholic sympathizer (he had been charged with being in possession of popish and dangerous writings in 1568, 1569 and 1570);
33and he certainly appears nostalgic for a pre-Reformation London when charitable religious houses, not fanciful palaces for

the wealthy, were--in his construction--housed in the suburbs. What becomes clear reading this passage is that the topography of London in the 1590s is highly politicized: whether you emphasized the "plagues" of the suburbs or its summer-houses depended on your perspective and the point you wanted to make.

It would be easy for a modern reader to be carried away by the sway of the dominant elite rhetoric relentlessly detailing the suburbs' pollution but a strong note of caution is provided by the fact that in 1593 half the reported plague burials still occurred within the City proper.³⁴ This is a surprisingly high proportion given the accounts of the mass exodus of the City's wealthy inhabitants--especially the children who would have been most susceptible to plague--during the worst outbreaks. A further note of caution is sounded for me by the work of the anthropologist Mary Douglas. In Purity and Danger, Douglas argues a convincing thesis (based on her study of Leviticus) that:

... ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience. It is only by exaggerating the difference between within and without, above and below ... with and against etc. that a semblance of order is created.

³⁵
Reflection on dirt in Douglas's scheme "involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder".³⁶ Like bodily margins, geographical and social margins constitute dangerous, vulnerable and powerful locations which threaten the body with instability; which challenge the established

order. In essence, the rhetoric of dirt, pollution, contagion and exclusion in Douglas's view inevitably has more to do with ordering society--not necessarily repressively--than with controlling disease.

The situation in early modern London suggests a very complex picture in which biological, geographical and social issues are inextricably linked and very difficult to separate. As the seventeenth century progressed the densely populated tenements of the suburbs did become the greater focus of the plague as the statistics testify: poverty, associated with overcrowded living, less frequent changes of clothing and insufficient resources to "flee" during epidemics, inevitably did render their population more susceptible to infection. It also, no doubt, rendered people more inclined to revolt against London's governors, the wealthy, and their inadequate, unfair and increasingly punitive answers to the problems posed by the plague. We know that right from the earliest attempts to control epidemics there was popular opposition to the Orders: in 1518, Wolsey was told about the many Londoners who "murmured and grudged and also had seditious words whereby a commotion or rebellion might arise"³⁷. Ironically, plague Orders themselves promoted--or were thought to promote--disorders.

Given the extremely complex nature of the variables involved, and the dense symbolic weighting of "plague" and its metonymic associations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, any analysis of plague discourses

must clearly be approached with caution, taking adequate account of the political issues involved and the likely vested interests of the speaker. As Ian Archer reminds us in The Pursuit of Stability, the state's self-representations were just one component of a complex social discourse among the various political "voices" in early modern England. I have suggested that Stow's rendering of the topography of London--particularly its margins where he locates money ill-spent not dirty poor people as a moral and social problem--posits his, as one alternative voice. Another, was that of Thomas Dekker, the prolific playwright and pamphleteer who lived in the suburbs--possibly plague-prone Whitechapel--and who from time-to-time was a very marginal person himself as an impoverished and imprisoned debtor.

As the next section will demonstrate, in the early decades of the seventeenth century, Dekker's is a corresponding "voice" in the plague debate, articulating the interests of the poor Commons, and probably a large proportion of the "middling sort", to a powerful and increasingly homogenous metropolitan elite--the successful entrepreneurs of early modern London.

(ii) "God helpe the Poore, The rich
can shift."

Metropolis as social battlefield in Thomas Dekker's plague pamphlets

Published in 1609 when the plague had been smouldering

in London for six years, Dekker's Worke For Armourours: OR, The Peace is Broken contains on its title-page the most succinct expression of the enabling power of money in the face of the plague.³⁹ Money represented the ability to "shift": to "shift" out of the metropolis to the country; to "shift" within the City proper (and not be turned out or "shut up"); and to "shift" for oneself in the provision of victuals (which became exorbitantly expensive in the worst outbreaks). In the first decade of the seventeenth century the plague and the plague Orders served to intensify, highlight and express an increasing polarization of social conditions based on wealth, or lack of it, in early modern London.

According to the "fiction" of this pamphlet (in fact a penetrating allegory of the current English--particularly the London--situation) the battlelines of social warfare are, in 1609, clearly drawn up. The followers of "the Queene of Gold and Silver"--Money--set up their defences inside city walls, using cruel measures to banish the subjects of Poverty to "their own liberties":

Hereupon strict proclamation went thundring, up and downe her dominions, charging her [Money's] wealthy subjects, not to negotiate any longer with those beggers, that flocke dayly to her kingdome, strong guards were planted at every gate, to barre their entrance into Cities, whipping-postes and other terrible engines, were advanced in every street to send them home bleeding new, if they were taken wandring (like sheep broken out of leane pastures into fat) out of their owne liberties, Constables were chosen of purpose that had Marble in their hearts (sig.C1r)

The beggar here is 'persona non grata', to be kept out of

the "fat pastures"--the wealthier parts of towns--by cruel constables and inhumane measures. The whipping-post is a recurring motif in this tract--an inappropriate and cruel punishment for "wandring ... sheep", let alone for destitute human beings who should (by the commonplace associations of Christian charity contained in the sheep analogy) be tended not punished. The enclosures--which served to create many wandering beggars--are hinted at here. This discourse works powerfully to deconstruct Jacobean "ordering" policies and stratagems which, according to its main satiric thrust, served to protect wealth and to maintain social inequality rather than to deal effectively and compassionately with social hardships (as the moralistic and paternalistic rhetoric accompanying the legislation claimed).

Worke For Armourours is the culmination of a sequence of impassioned works by Dekker which, like Bullein's Dialogue, articulated the plight of the poor in the face of the alleged greed and exploitation of the rich. With their roots deep in the English morality tradition and steeped, too, in the conventions of Menippean satire (for example, medleys of prose and verse, parodying of genres, rapid shifts in tone) Dekker's pamphlets are accomplished literary productions which make politically specific points and mark him out as an able and committed spokesman against the worst excesses and inadequacies of London's emergent capitalist system.

To try to place Dekker politically using modern

terminology would simply be anachronistic and misguided, as a great deal of the criticism, to date, reveals. M.T.Jones-Davies (1958) defined his political beliefs as conservative, nationalistic and insular, whilst E.D.Pendry (1967) marked Dekker out as a socialist-Tory--a sentimental upholder of aristocracy and gentry who "admires work people, and the prudent merchant classes most of all".⁴⁰ At least these critics grant him a political stance, something which was denied him by many influential earlier critics. Mary Leland Hunt (1911) admired Dekker's passive voice: "he had no real interest in controversy and no power of invective. The gentleness of his genius, wasted in such work, had its way in the prayers".⁴¹ Kate Gregg's 1924 Ph.D thesis is a rare early voice in locating economic and social comment in Dekker's pamphlets. She perceptively described how this writer, "emotionally and intellectually saw life in terms of social conflict".⁴² By contrast, Una Ellis-Fermor (1936) found that Dekker lacked "a reasoned and coherent group of principles".⁴³ George Sampson (1941) went further, denying Dekker the intellectual power to have any reasoned principles.⁴⁴ T.S.Eliot stated that Dekker "showed no sense of the Plague as a divine visitation": a gross misreading.⁴⁵ More recently, Sandra Clark has located a lust for sensationalism, and detected a certain "ghoulishness", in this "offshoot of news reporting"--the plague pamphlets.⁴⁶ Most frequently commended for the "pathos" and "realism" of his "popular" depictions of London life in plague time, yet denied a consistent or an

intellectual voice, Dekker's pamphlet work has been undervalued and neglected, and his plays have been misunderstood. Julia Gasper's recent study of Dekker's drama is a refreshing reassessment which for the first time takes adequate account of the cultural and historical contexts of his productions. Gasper defines Dekker as a highly principled "militant Protestant" whose works "are fundamentally consistent with each other, and with what is known about his life".⁴⁷ My own readings of his pamphlets lead me to concur with her view.

Few facts are known about Dekker's life. His name suggests he was of Dutch extraction, probably the offspring of Protestant refugees from Catholic persecution in the Netherlands. Plays like The Shoemaker's Holiday (1600) and his contribution to The Magnificent Entertainment (1604) point to his sympathies with the Dutch "strangers" in London. We do not know when he was born but he seems to have been in his thirties in the first decade of the seventeenth century when he wrote the majority of his pamphlets, reputedly because he needed to earn money when the theatres were closed for long periods because of plague. He wrote over sixty plays in his lifetime, mostly in collaboration with others. In 1601 he was at odds with Ben Jonson in the war of the theatres--it appears their⁴⁸ politico-religious views clashed. In terms of literary affiliation he announces in various of his tracts his admiration for Chaucer, Spenser and Nashe; and in A Knights Conjuring he places Spenser beside Chaucer in his Elysian

Grove of poets: given John Bale's adoption of Chaucer as an honorary reformer, Dekker would seem to situate his own work firmly within a Protestant tradition of writing.⁴⁹

The majority of the hard facts about Dekker's life relate to his arrests and prison experiences.⁵⁰ In 1598 Henslowe apparently lent him forty shillings to discharge him from one of the sheriff's prisons; in 1599 he was again in debt this time to the Lord Chamberlain's Men. On May 1608 he caused a "breach of the peace" against one Agnes Preston, spinster of Whitechapel, the district in which he was then living. Finally in 1612 Dekker was arrested for debt (among his creditors was his tailor) and soon after committed to the King's Bench Prison where he remained for seven years. Clearly, being a successful dramatist and pamphleteer in early modern London was no way to guarantee oneself a respectable living. Intriguingly, in 1625 Dekker was again in trouble but this time he was summoned to the Star Chamber on a charge of conspiracy and libel. Whatever he had been up to he was allowed to remain at large, writing well into the 1630s. Poverty, prison and a prolific writing career were the hallmarks, then, of Dekker's life.

His identification with the international Protestant cause was another. Successive plays and pamphlets testify to this--Sir Thomas Wyatt (pre-1607), The Whore of Babylon (1605), The Virgin Martyr (1620) and his pamphlet The Double P.P. (1606) (a vitriolic anti-Catholic tract) are the most pronounced expressions of this militant Protestant's creed. Dekker's commitment to the Reformed

Church, his intense hatred of its adversary, Rome, and his advocacy of arms (which accrue "heavenly" as opposed to "earthly crowns") in the struggle against "the Antichrist",⁵¹ mark him out as a Protestant of the militant cast.

Productions such as the above align him with earlier Protestant propagandist writers including Foxe, Bale and Bullein. The Virgin Martyr, for example, is basically a dramatized allegory of the True Church (figured in the person of Dorothea) undergoing oppression and continuously threatened with "rape" by the False Church/Antichrist. Dorothea repeatedly refuses the advances of the noble, wealthy (but Rome-tainted) Antoninus when union with him would secure her both safety and riches (possibly a comment on the proposed Spanish match for Prince Charles). Dorothea is persecuted, tortured (but protected by miraculous powers) and decapitated on the stage--a Virgin Martyr willing to suffer unflinchingly in the service of the True Church (Foxe would have been proud of her). She is portrayed, importantly, as an unstinting and lavish almsgiver to the poor but her Christian, charitable aims are considerably undermined by the self-serving servants she entrusts with the duty of distributing them. The two servants (ostensibly of Dorothea's creed but in reality worshipping none but mammon) participate unmercifully in her torture and her earthly demise. This is undoubtedly a comment (dramatized for popular consumption) on the perceived hypocrisy, covetousness and cruelty of some of Dekker's Protestant contemporaries--Bullein's Civis

transposed to the 1620s. As this indicates, and as the plague-related pamphlets also suggest, Dekker was prepared to take political risks in his writing and it is perhaps pertinent to question at this juncture if his trouble with the authorities always related to the alleged debts.

Six tracts are traditionally--since F.P. Wilson's collected edition--cited as Dekker's "plague pamphlets". The Wonderfull Yeare (1603), Newes from Graves-end (1604) and The Meeting of Gallants (1604) share as their immediate context the 1603 bubonic plague epidemic. A Rod for Run-aways emerged from the 1625 outbreak whilst London Looke Backe (1630) and The Blacke Rod and the White Rod (1630) function as lengthy and sophisticated "Warnings to be ware", drawing on the experiences and horrors of previous plagues to encourage London's sinners into a timely repentance. This section will deal in most depth with the first two of these tracts and with the much neglected but fascinating Worke for Armourours (1609), set in the context of the 1609 "plagues".

The title-page of the first edition of The Wonderfull yeare enticingly, sardonically and slightly menacingly conveys the mingled tone and substance of:

THE WON-
derfull yeare.

The year certainly transpires to be more "derfull" (recalling direful, doleful and dirge) than "wonderful". The page proceeds to announce that the pamphlet will show "the picture of London, lying sicke of the Plague", suggesting, in its personification of London, a not

entirely straight-forward news-report of the town in the grip of sickness. Changing its typeface for the fourth time the page promises variety and merriment tinged by fear:

At the ende of all (like a mery Epilogue to a dull Play) certaine Tales are cut out in sundry fashions, of purpose
to shorten the lives of long winters nights,
that lye watching in the darke for us.

Personified Plague with his arrows of death also, as in the 91st Psalm, traditionally stalked his victims in the
52
darkness. Death then, like long winter nights, threatens "us" (not least because he peers menacingly from the pages of this text) but the pamphlet purports to offer "mery" tales as medicinal laughter in the face of the plague. The tales form the tail-end of the book, mirrored in the tail-shaped form of the announcement. The title-page thus advertises the shape of things to come: it promises wit and bravado, and the type of Menippean cleverness and protean approach to form, structure and tone, combined with a cherished disrespect for convention and authority that Thomas Nashe had mastered a decade earlier and which had got him, from time-to-time, into considerable trouble. Significantly, this pamphlet, like Newes from Graves-end, was published anonymously, "without Aucthoritie or entrance", and in December 1603 all copies were called in,
53
presumably for burning.

It is worth noting at this point that the text which provoked Nashe's "persecution" by the aldermen of the City of London, had emerged from the context of the 1592-3

plague. In Christes Teares Over Jerusalem, whereunto is annexed, a comparative admonition to London (1593) the aldermen detected harmful insinuations about their management of plague funds. The inflammatory sparks were certainly there:

No defrauder of the poore, or covetous perverter of foundations, but is put in the devils blacke booke. Cursed be they that give almes with the one hand, and take bribes with the other, that sell bequests for good turnes, and are not ashamed to prostitute charitie like a strumpet for readie money. I speake not this for I know any such, but if there be anie such, to forewarne and reforme them.

Nashe proceeded to retract, immediately, the last sentence, claiming that although there were many honest "godly and wise" magistrates in the City there were certainly other "wicked livers" ; and:

Very good it were, when they are revealed, they had plague bills set upon their doores, to make them more noted and detestable. (f.83r)

As well as the moral corruption of the magistrates, the social bias and stigmatization associated with "shutting up" was hinted at here.

In Nashe's, as in William Bullein's plague tract, "extortioners" of the poor were construed as the prime category of sinners responsible both for inciting God's wrath and spreading the contagion but a new (late sixteenth-century) breed of extortioner--the "engrosser of corne"--was particularly blameworthy:

You Usurers and Engrossers of Corne, by your hoording up of golde and graine, tyll it is mould, rusty, moath eaten, and almost infects the ayre with the stinche, you have taught God to hoord up your iniquities and transgressions and being opened they so poyson the ayre with theyr ill savour, that from them proceedeth thys perrilsome contagion. The land is full

of adulterers Extortioners ... proude men ...
hypocrites this is the cause why the Sword
devoureth abroad, and the Pestilence at home. (f.82v)

Despite his rhetorical attempts to placate the authorities,
Nashe's tract caused offence and he was summoned to appear
before the magistrates. His friend, George Carey,
apparently whisked him away to the Isle of Wight to lay low
until the furore subsided.⁵⁶

This was not, however, Nashe's first confrontation with
the City authorities. Pierce Penilesse (1592) addressed--
among other issues--the problem of London's vagabonds,
hinting that the scandals of vagrancy and slums arose from
the wealthy City dwellers' greediness and desire for
exclusivity which had pushed the poor out of their
proximity into the crowded suburbs. The text cleverly
challenged another type of exclusivity: the suburbs being
the sole province of sin according to elite rhetoric.
Pierce declares to Signior Beelzebub:

These are but the suburbs of the sin we have in hand:
I must describe to you a large city, wholly inhabited
with this damnable enormity.

⁵⁷
Offering witty alternatives to the usual assumptions in
moralistic discourse, and thereby exposing the smug
hypocrisy it masked, Nashe's pamphlets were designed not to
let the City's wealthy inhabitants and its governors rest
easily.

Dekker's satirical pamphlets are clearly informed by
these earlier models which had, as Nashe's summons reveals,
served to establish the plague and its management as a
particularly sensitive discursive area in the late

sixteenth century. The Wonderfull yeare, having signalled its colours on the title-page, proceeds as it promises, to muddy and unsettle conventional waters. Parodying the usual fashion in medical plague pamphlets of dedicating one's book to a worthy City governor who stayed behind to carry out his duties instead of fleeing the epidemic, Dekker addresses his "scribed papers" to a probably non-existent "Water Bailiffe of London" (sig.A2r). To his (note the pun on "wel") "WEL-respected good friend, M. Cuthbert Thuresby", Dekker declares:

If you read, you may happilie laugh; tis my desire you should, because mirth is both Phisicall, and wholesome against the Plague, with which sicknes, (to tell truth) this booke is, (though not sorely) yet somewhat infected. I pray, drive it not out of your companie for all that; for (assure your soule) I am so jealous of your health, that if you did but once imagine, there were gall in mine Incke, I would cast away the Standish, and forswear medling with anie more Muses. (sig.A2v)

Dekker's pamphlet is personified and dramatized as a plague victim threatening to thrust himself into the water bailiff's company. The phrasing "drive it not out of your companie" conveys the presumed unwelcome nature of this confrontation and hints at the harsh treatment meted out to plague sufferers by the authorities. Wittily drawing on fashionable medical commonplaces the author recommends mirth as physic to prevent the disease and fortifying the soul against fearful and dangerous imaginings--in this case that his book seeks to infect or harm. This playful but menacingly double-edged announcement that the pamphlet is pestilent ("though not sorely") recalls the old rhetorical linkage of books with pestilent words, rumour, contagion

and sedition. The Wonderfull yeare thus threatens to be controversial (to contain "gall") though, perhaps, "not sorely". It is as if the writer is revelling in the power of his pen to make mischief (to embarrass the City authorities), if he cares to do so.

Having proffered no author on its title-page, the pamphlet proceeds in belligerent mode to refuse to acknowledge a worthy reader: "And why to the Reader?" (sig.A3r), its preface "To the Reader" remonstrates. In Nashe-like fashion, Dekker's witty pen-man of the dedications shuns to "hony" his audience "with Gentle reader, Courteous Reader", abusing him instead, finally launching into a tirade against writers (sig.A3r). He proposes that "thin headed fellowes that live upon the scraps of invention, and travell with such vagrant soules" (hungry hack-writers not unlike Dekker) have the "Statute of Rogues sued upon them, because their wits have no abiding place" (sig.A3v). Through such irreverent mockery of the City governors' harsh statutes and the physicians' commonplaces, Dekker adds another, more humorous, but heavily sardonic and at times profoundly poignant voice to the 1603 plague debate. In its protean, metamorphosing manner, however, the book initially presents a rather different plague than we have been led to expect.

Following a cheerful picture of London in springtime with its notably "sweete Odours" and "excellent aires Streetes ... full of people ... people full of joy" (sigs.B1r, B1v), Dekker presents an account of the Queen's

sudden sickness and death, with Death attired like a courtier, entering her "Privie Chamber" and summoning her to the "Star-chamber of heaven" (sig.B1v). "Oh what an Earth-quake is the alteration of a State" (sig.B2v), he declares, and proceeds to paint a vivid picture of the kingdom in the grip of fear of civil unrest and foreign invasion. These are the first plagues to threaten 1603, then--civil turmoil and war--and even the mere imagined threat of them is productive of chaos.

Launching from prose into verse, the author elaborates his theme--"The Map of a Countrey so pittifullie distracted by the horror of a change" (sig.B2v)--recounting versified and moralized examples of peoples' behaviour under the stress of this "earthquake". It is, I think, significant that the popular medieval poem, A Warning to be ware, had linked civil unrest with an earthquake, with pestilence, and with greed for riches. Although the intermixing of verse with prose was characteristic of Menippean satire, it was also, and very significantly for understanding Dekker's work, a feature of late medieval sermons in which a lyric would often reiterate in rhyme the substance of the preacher's message (a method also employed in later seventeenth-century emblem books). As described earlier, moralized anecdotes in the form of comic tales (the extended exempla) sometimes followed, to illustrate even further the moral point. One fifteenth-century preacher, discoursing to his congregation upon the pride of life, relates the cumulative nature of his didactic method, thus:

"And so I may shewe to you by story, and also be ensampall
⁵⁸
of kende, and also of gestes". In his book on medieval
sermons, W. Ross describes how although much of the sermon
material which remains extant is highly conventional--the
qualities and behaviour of the covetous man, the slothful
man, and the proud man are generalized, stereotyped and
repeated ad infinitum--there often "appears flashes of
criticism which goes beyond this conventionalized complaint
and deals in a realistic fashion with the contemporary
⁵⁹
world". It is this politicized strand of the English
homiletic tradition--married to elements of the legacy of
classical satire (particularly the Menippea and the
⁶⁰
Lucianic dialogue) --which remains alive and so
successfully developed in Dekker's pamphlet outpourings,
especially in The Wonderfull yeare.

It comes as no surprise then, that the verse images
which colour the prose outline of Dekker's "earthquake" are
highly predictable yet particularized, too, for the 1603
context. Above all they illustrate the sins of covetousness
and pride embodied in early seventeenth-century types and
exhibiting their folly which is heightened and exposed by
fear. Fear of civil unrest, like fear of plague, is
represented as eliciting amoral yet ludicrous and therefore
potentially comical responses from human beings. "At such a
time", the poet declares:

... villaines their hopes do honey,
And rich men looke as pale as their white money.
Now they remove, and make their silver sweate,
Casting themselves into a covetous heate,
And then (unseene) in the confederate darke,

Bury their gold without or Priest or Clarke. (sig.B3r)
 This is a familiar depiction of a covetous rich man in a moral "fever pestilence" burying his money to protect it from "villaines" but it simultaneously comments on a much more invidious and reprehensible alleged contemporary practice which Dekker alludes to several times in his pamphlets: that of wealthy masters who, through fear, bury their plague-dead servants in secret "without or Priest or Clarke" in order to avoid the detection, and thus the "shutting up",⁶¹ of their plague-infested houses. Whether or not this actually happened is impossible to verify but poor servants are likened to material commodities through such an analogy which highlights the inversion of Christian values--the worldly over the spiritual--concomitant on greed and selfishness and accentuated by fear.

There follow images of quaking, frightened and unpleasant-sounding "wise-acred Landlords", "tongue-travelling lawyers" and "Usurers" who usurp the "nasty" and usually shunned abodes of the poor in order to hide themselves and their earthly goods from "ruffians" who threaten to turn the material world upside down in the absence of authority in such transitional times (sigs.B3r-B4r): these depictions hint at the way in which the reviled "usurer" subverts Christian values perpetually to satisfy his greed. The behaviour of the covetous man is rendered absurd and comic by this exaggerated, grotesque depiction. As this extract reveals, Dekker's sympathy is with the underdog "ruffians" whom he ingeniously manages to

represent being exploited by rich, hypocritical "Cubs" even as they engage in attempted burglary:

In unsought Allies and unholesome places,
Back-wayes and by-lanes, where appear few faces,
In shamble-smelling roomes, loathsome prospects,
And penny-lattice windowes, which rejects
All popularitie: there the rich Cubs lurke,
When in great houses ruffians are at worke,
Not dreaming that such glorious booties lye
Under those nasty roofes: such they passe by
Without a search, crying there's nought for us,
And wealthy men deceive poore villaines thus.
(sig.B3v-B4r)

This inverted cony-catching story in which the rich "lurke" and hide in the "shambles" and the "ruffians" invade "great houses" only to find them emptied of their treasures, develops the twin motifs of social levelling and inversion (of place and values) which dominate Dekker's plague pamphlets. Time and again Dekker depicts wealthy misers unable to find willing social underlings, at any price, to bury their plague-dead loved ones; and graves in which the corpses of rich folk rot ignominiously beneath stinking poor ones.⁶² The chaos linked to plagues and "earthquakes" (both associated rhetorically with hell on earth) provides an opportunity for the writer with a moral agenda to confuse social categories and warn of an existence after death ("Then Bacchus drinkes not in gilt-bowles, but skulls" sig.B3v) in which rewards are predicated on spiritual and moral, rather than material assets: in fact, plague/death is serving the same homiletic purpose here as it did in Dives and Pauper, in the medieval morality plays and, indeed, in the Lucianic dialogue. Everyman draws to a close, for example, cautioning the audience to "forsake

pride" because "he that hath his account whole and sound,/
 High in heaven he shall be crowned." ⁶³ In Lucian's The
Descent into Hades, Menippus's journey to Hades and back
 (ostensibly to consult Teiresias on a philosophical matter)
 provides the opportunity for his detailed relation to a
 "friend" of after-life social levelling, and of just
 punishments meted out to "those rich men with great
 fortunes who keep their gold locked up as closely as
 Danae", and who "in life ... plunder and oppress and in
 every way humiliate the poor". ⁶⁴

Dekker's tract proceeds to develop the links between the
 three dire scourges construed as threatening England with
 disaster in 1603: whilst England is shooting "arrowes at
 her owne breast" (sig.C1r)--an allusion to plague arrows
 and the threat of civil war--Catholic countries wait their
 chance to aim theirs. But, Dekker declares triumphantly:

Pro Troia stabat Apollo, God stuck valiantlie to us,
 For behold, up rises a comfortable Sun out of the
 North, whose glorious beames (like a fan) dispersed
 all thick and contagious clowdes. The losse of a
 Queene, was paid with the double interest of a King
 and Queene. The Cedar of her government which stooode
 alone and bare no fruit, is changed now to an Olive,
 upon whose spreading branches grow both Kings and
 Queenes. (sig.C1r-v)

Suddenly the tract has metamorphosed into a panegyric with
 Protestant propaganda connotations. James VI of Scotland, a
 Protestant who is furthermore a male with a spouse and
 heirs ("fruit"), is proclaimed King. Appropriately as a
 poet he is invoked as England's Apollo--the new physician
 of the kingdom hailing from the healthy North (plagues, in
 humoral medicine, were associated with airs from the

South), a "Sun" dispersing the pestilent airs of civil and international war. The former Queen's reign is obliquely criticized in this passage--the implication is that Elizabeth's failure to marry and produce an heir was conducive to the formation of pestilent airs threatening civil unrest and Catholic invasion. After the Earl of Essex's execution James VI had become the best hope for the militant Protestant cause which Dekker supported. As Julia Gasper has convincingly argued, Dekker's and Webster's early Jacobean play, Sir Thomas Wyatt (published 1607), probably functioned as a eulogy to and lament for Essex⁶⁵ figured in his precursor, Sir Thomas Wyatt. James's accession had finally, after months of anxiety, confirmed a Protestant future for England and symbolized, once again, the triumph of the True Church--"God stuck valiantlie to us"--over the False (James I did not, however, go on to fulfil militant Protestant expectations, and by 1609 when Worke for Armourours was published, Dekker was clearly disillusioned with the monarch and openly critical of his style of government).

Dekker repeated his construction of James I as Apollo and healing physician in the City pageant he was commissioned to write to celebrate the accession--The Magnificent Entertainment. In this tract James's northern "rays" dispell the miasmic clouds of bubonic plague and the concomitant economic stagnation; a new Golden Age of industry is prophesied:

... hee that should have compared the emptie and untroden walkes of LONDON, which were to be seen in

that late mortally destroying Deluge, with the thronged streetes now, might have believed, that upon this day, began a new CREATION, and that the citie was the onely Workhouse wherin sundry Nations were made.

66

Ovid's race of industrious ant-like Myrmidons ("The Plague at Aegina", Metamorphoses, Bk.VII.) is evoked here. In fact, the pageant had been fore-stalled by the epidemic and it was a matter of some embarrassment to the Protestant establishment that the new King's arrival in England had coincided with the outbreak of plague: in later pamphlets Dekker alludes to this unfortunate timing, explaining this epidemic, and the 1625 plague which coincided with Charles I's accession, in regenerative terms as divinely engineered cleaning up exercises--England atoning for the sins accumulated in the previous reigns and being afforded a clean slate and a fresh start.⁶⁷ The motif of James I (prefigured in Macbeth as Malcolm, "the medicine of the sickly weal", V.ii.996) as divine physician occurs, too, in Shakespeare and can be read as part of a Jacobean propaganda exercise to bolster James's standing.

Tinged with a heavy note of irony, The Wonderfull yeare proceeds, describing the actual plague ravaging London in many guises, following hot on the heels of the short-lived celebrations welcoming the new King to London. From a scene of joy and triumph emerges one of a "vast silent Charnell-house" (sig.C3v): a horrific underworld of "desolate hand-wringing widdowes out-cast and downe-troden Orphanes", empty homes and misery (sig.C3r-v). Like his predecessors writing eye-witness accounts, the author cannot "endure the transportation of soules in this dolefull manner"--because

there is "no remedie" (sig.D1r). An alternative "lustier winde" is desired, and found: the tract rapidly shifts the point "of our Compass" to engage with humour again (sig.D1r).

In Dekker's pamphlets the plague is inevitably conflated with death and personified. "He" is above all a militaristic tyrant besieging the City and deflowering its maidens; a rapist; a thief; a hunter; a dragon or a "Tamburlaine" who has set up his camp--pitched his tents of "winding sheets"--in (Dekker's heavily ironic words here) "the sinfully-polluted Suburbes" (sig.D1r). The allusion is, of course, to Christopher Marlowe's play Tamburlaine, about a tyrant scourge, which was performed in those other "plagues" of the town, the playhouses, situated in the places of the plague (according to the city fathers' rhetoric) the liberties and suburbs. Dekker appropriates the old plague personifications and metaphors and through his exaggeration and witty exploitation of their full figurative potential he makes his readers laugh, helping to tame the fear inherent in the ghastly images, undermining their deployments in the City governors' rhetoric, and perhaps even reducing the horror of the plague itself through this process.

An illustration of the latter suggestion is Dekker's comic management of the depiction of potentially tragic London scenes. For example:

I am amazed to remember what dead Marches were made of three thousand trooping together; husbands, wives & children, being led as ordinarily to one grave, as if

they had gone to one bed. And those that could shift for a time, and shrink their heads out of the collar (as many did) yet went they (most bitterly) miching and muffled up & downe with Rue and Wormewood stuff into their eares and nostrils, looking like so many bores heads stuck with branches of Rosemary, to be served in for Brawne at Christmas. (sig.D2r)

The tragedy of death becomes a comedy of carnival images-- people strewn with herbs to ward off infection are likened, rather grimly perhaps, to hogs' heads stuffed for Christmas. Whose table in the underworld will these human heads be served up to, we might ask?

Dekker's tone is not, however, always playful--there are very dark passages, particularly when he is describing man's callous behaviour, as in this extract:

I could draw forth a Catalogue of many poore wretches, that in fields, in ditches, in common Cages, and under stalls (being either thrust by cruell maisters out of doores, or wanting all worldly succor but the common benefit of earth and aire) have most miserablief perished. (sig.D3v)

The miseries of "poore wretches" elicit his profoundest sympathy whilst he is extremely critical of the uncharitable practices of cruel "maisters", "runaways" and the hard-hearted "lobs" or "hobbinalls" of the countryside who exercise no pity for fleeing and stricken Londoners. Here, again, is Dives and Pauper in 1603 guise. Dekker himself highlights this homiletic debt:

Lazarus laie groning at every mans doore, mary no Dives was within to send him a crum, (for all your Gold-finches were fled to the woods) nor a dogge left to licke up his sores (sig.D2r)

The implication is that because the rich have fled to the country, nobody is providing alms for the sick poor who are simply abandoned.

In a much later pamphlet, A Rod for Run-awayes (1625), the writer cynically suggests a remedy for this continuing problem which turns out to be an ironic counter to the London plague policy barring vagrants from the City. The runaways should be forcibly kept in their homes, in the City, by "our Constables and Officers" until they have contributed a sum of money for the upkeep of the poor. This passage parodies the tone and polite forms of self-righteous elite rhetoric:

It were a worthy act in the Lord Maior, and honourable Magistrates in this City, if, our Constables and Officers, might stand with Bills to keepe the rich in their owne houses (when they offer to goe away) untill they leave such a charitable piece of Money behinde them, towards the maintenance of the poore, which else must perish in their absence. They that depart hence, would then (no doubt) prosper the better; they that stay, fare the better; and the generall City (nay the universall Kingdom) prosper in blessings from Heaven, the better. (sig.B3r)

Dekker's persistent message is that charity will be rewarded by the cessation of plague: sin and not contagion causes the disease and uncharitable behaviour linked with greed and selfishness (as illustrated in the anecdotal tales) is the root of God's displeasure. These were, in fact, brave points to argue in print, flying in the face of authority as they did. Viewed as a dangerous religious extremist, Henoch Clapham was imprisoned for saying much the same thing in a far less humorous way in 1603:

Sinne being the cause of this maladie ... it is for none to make phisick their staffe besides, they see many preserved in the midst of the plague, who have used no phisicall meanes, what will they make the cause of their deliverance? (An epistle discoursing, sig.B1r)

Dekker develops his anti-"phisick" line in a parody of a

medical plague treatise contained in his next pamphlet--
Newes from Graves-end: sent to NoBody (1604). His polemical
views cannot have been popular with London's governors and
it is explicitly these whom he took on in this plague
tract.

Having nothing to do with the Kentish town, Gravesend,
Newes from Graves-end ostensibly deals in news from grave-
filled London sent to "Syr Nicholas Nemo, alias Nobody"
(sig.A3r). The Epistle Dedicatory is addressed to this
Nobody, the clear implication being that because all the
city worthies have deserted the "pestiferous" sinking ship
of plague-ridden London, there is "no-body" left to
dedicate the pamphlet to. Dekker extends his witty nautical
conceit through several pages introducing it thus:

... in this pestiferous ship-wrack of Londoners, when
the Pilot, Boteswaines, Maister and Maisters-mates,
with all the chiefe Mariners that had charge in this
goodly Argozy of government, leapt from the sterne ...
never lookt to the Compasse, never sownded in places
of danger ... but suffred all to sinke or swim, crying
out onely, Put your trust in God my Bullies, & not in
us, whilst they either hid themselves under hatches,
or else scrambled to shoare in Cock-boats: yet thou
(undaunted Nobody) then, even then, didst stand
stoutly to the tackling ... (sigs.B1v-B2r)

Dereliction of duty and cowardice are the accusations
contained here, with the phrase "this goodly Argozy [large
merchant ship] of government" hinting at the mercantile,
and profit-accruing preoccupations of London's worthy
governors.

The Epistle proceeds, in this ingenious manner, to list
specific areas in which the authorities have failed to
fulfil their responsibilities as "chiefe Mariners" of

England's plague-prone mercantile flag-ship. Eulogies to Nobody and positive expressions cloak the negative charges:

Another lifted thee up above the third Heaven, for playing the Constables part so rarely: And (not as your common Constables, charging poore sick wretches, that had neither meate nor mony, in the kings name to keepe their houses, thats to say, to famish & die: But discharging whole baskets full of victualls (like vollies of shot) in at their windowes: thou, onely thou (most charitable Nobody) madest them as fat as butter, & preservedst their lives. (sig.B2r)

The key reprimand centres on the failure of the governors to organize satisfactory care for the sick poor who have been charged to "keepe their houses": whilst Constables diligently ensure the confinement of the sick poor, Nobody "preservedst their lives" by supplying them with "victualls". Insufficient surgeons, apothecaries and suitable burial plots to meet the needs of London's citizens are other criticisms. Indeed, throughout this pamphlet the "Rulers of this walled State" are repeatedly and pointedly upbraided for their negligence, selfishness and cowardice in the face of the plague: "So you kill those, y'are bound to cherish" (sig.E4v).

That the plague was afflicting the poor and the young inordinately in these years is emphasized in this tract:

Tis now the Beggars plague, for none
Are in this Battaile overthrowne
But Babes and poore: The lesser fly
Now in this Spiders web doth lie.
But if that great, and goodly swarme [the runaways]
(That has broke through, and felt no harme,) In his invenom'd snares should fall,
O pittie! twere most tragicall:
For then the Usurer must behold
His pestilent flesh, whilst all his gold
Turns into Tokens, and the chest
(They lie in,) his infectious brest: (sig.F1r)

The wealthy have "broke through" according to this pamphlet simply by fleeing, but, it menacingly warns, when the runaways return they will get their share of the poison. The sarcastic exclamation, "O pittie! twere most tragical" underlines a real bitterness and sense of social tension that runs through this work.

Appropriating familiar organizing categories from medical plague treatises--for example, The cause of the Plague (sig.C3v)--the pamphlet strives to subvert medical authority and particularly to undermine and ridicule the theories of miasma and contagion on which the plague Orders were based:

Nor drops this venome, from that faire
And christall bosome of the Aire. (sig.C3v)

Can we believe that one mans breath
Infected, and being blowne from him,
His poyson should to others swim:
For then who breath'd upon the first? (sig.C4v)

In the section headed The Cure of The Plague, the author declines to speak of any medical cures for the plague in spite of King James's command for writers to do so:

These speckled Plagues (which our sinnes levy)
Are as needfull as th'are heavy;
Whose cures to cite our Muse forbeares,
Tho he the Daphnean wreath that weares
(Being both Poesies Soveraigne King,
And God of medicine) bids us sing
As boldly of those pollicies ... (sig.F3r)

As a poet in "this civill warre of Pestilence" (sig.F3v), he declares, he cannot be so confined ("For Poets soules should be confinde / Within no bownds" sig.F3v) and anyway he does not believe that the medical cures of either the Galenists or the Paracelsians are efficacious. The plague

is not contagious in his construction and in later tracts he warns the runaways that God's smiting angel will get them wherever they are so fleeing is useless. Avoidance and cure lie rather in repentance and spiritual reform since all the disease emanates from "plaguy sick" souls in a sick society in which the greedy accruing of wealth, as opposed to Christian, charitable alms giving, is the pivotal force (sig.D1v). Employing mercantile and market-place language and allusions throughout his satire, and redeploying the homiletic commonplace associating greed and usury with God's wrath and plague, Dekker sets up this moral dichotomy.

In the absence of any real knowledge about the cause of plague (and this applied up to the twentieth century), the best way to survive an epidemic was definitely to get as far away from the infected place as possible or to set up barriers to exclude anything associated with it from your vicinity. It is clear from the surviving discourses that the city elite understood this: magistrates, physicians, merchants and lawyers appear to have fled in droves to the countryside; their money and their means enabled them to do so. The wealthy who had to stay seem to have been in favour of the plague Orders which attempted to keep the baser sort out of the richer quarters of the City proper. Thomas Dekker, in spite of being a successful dramatist around 1603, probably lacked sufficient capital either to flee or to reside within the City walls. He, along with the bulk of the metropolis, was forced to observe both the full horrors

of the sickness and the dysfunctioning of the capital city when trade had ceased. Food prices were high and people who survived the illness but were unfit for employment could starve; work was, of course, scarcer anyway in plague time. In a sermon "preached in Paules Church" in 1603 Christopher Hooke highlighted a special category of deserving poor created by the plague:

... the poore man of occupation, who in this time wanteth woorke, and therefore wanteth foode for him and his familie ... for the sicknesse thus still continuing, and the winter is hard approaching, and none or little worke, as they say stirring, the number of the poore and their necessity, do encrease daily.

68

In the absence of effective alleviating measures the middling sort, like Dekker, were clearly desperate, along with the poor, for the runaways to return so that the trade and business on which their livelihoods depended could resume.

Dekker might have believed that fleeing was not efficacious because God's smiting angel would get you anyway but contradictions in his rhetoric (the runaways in Newes from Graves-end do seem to have benefited from their removal which appears to irk the writer) lead me to suspect that in formulating his construction of the plague he was motivated as much by pragmatic concerns as religious ones. His pamphlets were meant to be read by the runaways, no doubt the same people who bought the medical tracts like Lodge's and Manning's which justified in medical, religious and ethical terms (a powerful trinity) the efficacy of fleeing. Dekker's opposing construction of the causes of the plague--sin (embodying greed and selfishness) and

smiting angels--suited his underlying political argument: that the management of the plague in 1603 was socially divisive, blatantly unfair to the poor and devastating to trade as well as to the people left to fend for themselves in the capital. Equally, the underlying political strategies of the metropolitan elite, and in this I include the physicians, were bolstered by constructions of the plague which emphasized contagion and natural causes and associated sin and moral misdemeanours with the dirty poor living in the liberties. Policies like shutting people up in infected houses and whipping those with plague sores found wandering in the streets required a powerful justifying rhetoric. The fear generated by the plague inevitably stimulated the instinct for survival on both sides of a social-commodity divide characterized by the ability, or not, "to shift" for oneself and one's family outside or inside the metropolis during the trade-dead plague summers. It is precisely the socially divisive economic issues associated with, and accentuated by, the sporadic plague outbreaks of the first decade of the seventeenth century, that Worke For Armourours takes up.

WORKE FOR
Armourours:
OR,
The Peace is Broken

Open warres likely to happin
this yeare 1609:
God helpe The Poore, The rich
can shift
(title-page, 1609)

One of the most powerful images in The Wonderfull yeare

is undoubtedly that of Death (Plague) pitching his tents of "winding sheetes tackt together" in the "sinfully-polluted Suburbs", effectively laying siege to the City (sig.D1v). In Worke for Armourours the central controlling image of the inner dream narrative is ironically and deliberately that of Poverty and her followers pitching their tents in the suburbs and, similarly, enforcing siege conditions on London "within the walls" where "the golden IDOLL" has been deposited:

... thither she [Poverty] marches with all speed, but perceiving all places of entrance barred up, she pitcheth her tents round about the Suburbs, planteth her artilery against the walles, leveleth her great ordnance upon the very wickets of the City gates, and by the sound of trumpet, did often summon Money to appeare in her likenesse, and not to hide her proud and cowardly head. (sig.E3r)

Before long Poverty is joined in this "terrible Siege against the City" by Dearth, Famine and the Plague, whilst Money's camp succumbs to "strange and incurable diseases" (sig.G2v) consequent upon "Ryot" that "gnaw ... consciences" like the French disease (syphilis)--clearly alluded to here-- which "gnaws" bones (sig.G2v). The poor are the plague of the suburbs in 1609 then, but, this tract retaliates, the rich are not without their own diseases; among them, Bullein's and Phayre's "fever pestilence" of the soul--troubled conscience.

Dekker's pamphlet acknowledges, indeed stresses through its rhetoric, that poverty, physical diseases and hunger are, indeed, all prevalent in the suburbs in 1609; but (subverting the arguments of self-righteous moralistic

discourse of the period) the greed of the wealthy, not the lack of industry and moral depravity of the poor, has created them. The tract provides a detailed account of the "shifts" (fraudulent stratagems) of the rich which, it argues rather shockingly, created and maintained through "pollicy" a debilitated "army" of indigence in early seventeenth-century England. An unsatisfactory confrontation between Poverty and Money merely produces diseases and stagnation of trade which affect both camps adversely. The pamphlet ends with a rather depressing "peace" between the two social factions; nothing has been resolved, the cycle of peace and war recommences:

... the Siege raised, the Citty gates set wide open.
Shop-keepers fell to their old, What doe you lacke:
The rich men feast one another (as they were wont) and
the poore were kept poore still in pollicy, because
they should doe no more hurt. (sig.G3v)

This truce represents a smouldering peace, like London's smouldering plague in the first decade of the seventeenth century which threatened to create havoc if ignited. The "savage and desperate" (sig.B3v) poor:

... rush headlong together, like torrents running into the sea, full of fury in shew, but loosing the effect of doing violence, because they know not how to do it, their rage and madnesse burning in them like fire in wet straw, it made a great stinking smoake, but had no flame. (sig.B3r)

The biblical echo "they know not what they do" ("they know not how to do it") suggests a desperate directionless flock urgently warranting paternalistic care but not finding it⁶⁹ in early Stuart England. A secondary implication is that if they do not get it, a less desirable leadership ("Jack-strawes ... Cades" sig.C1v) might, indeed, show them "how

to do it". The potential for ignition of this smothered "rage" into outright rebellion exists the tract argues; and the catalyst, it warns, might just be the harsh economic circumstances of 1609 kindled by a trade-dead plague summer. The narrator prophesies a bloody confrontation worse than the "late" Low Countries' wars unless Money and Poverty negotiate; timely intrevencion is essential:

No, nor all those late acts of warre and death, commenced by Hispaniolized Netherlands, able to make up a Chronicle to hold all the world reading: did ever give rumour cause to speake so much as the battailes of these two mighty enemies (so mortally falling out) will force her to proclaime abroad, unlesse they grow to a reconcilement ... (sig.B4r)

The widespread food shortages in this year were serious enough to cause the postponement of Parliament in spite of a financial crisis with the government deeply in debt.⁷⁰ The King and the Privy Council were ruling-- ineffectively, some, including Dekker, hinted--in Parliament's stead by a series of Royal Proclamations. Dekker seems to be predicting in Worke for Armourours that the recently concluded Dutch-Spanish peace would further depress the British economy increasing hardships and fuelling unrest. He was not alone in this opinion: Sir John Popham, for example, complained unsympathetically about the idle poor and cashiered soldiers "whose Encrease threateneth the state".⁷¹ The "customer"/economist, Thomas Milles, argued a similar line in the Protestant propagandist tract The Mistery of Iniquity (1609) declaring that money is analogous to blood in the body: "so the people ... grow troubled and unquiet within themselves, according to the

state of the Coyne". This latter work opens with a list of ANTITHETA contrasting "Heaven, or spirituall Jerusalem " and its "Money for Equality"; "Altars for Unity and truth" and "staple Citties fit for open Commerce" with "Hell the spirituall Babilon: Rome"; "Fraud upon Advantage" and "Temples and Chappels for private dirges and Jugling Masses" and "Obscure Places for privy shifts". If we are to believe Work For Armourours, Britain was tending to the Romish camp in 1609, its trade characterized by fraud and "privy shifts".

Worke For Armourours represents a rather more menacing "warning to be ware" to the authorities than its predecessors. The rather half-hearted and oblique attempt to appeal to the paternal consciences of England's governors described earlier ("they know not how to do it") is not accompanied by the usual deference. Furthermore, the author of the pamphlet represents himself as one of the army of Poverty--unlike Bullein he is one of "them" not one of "us" (the better sort) desiring to exhibit "our poor needie brother his povertie" (Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence, sig.A2v) from a convenient distance. His allegations are charged with a sufferer's bitterness: indeed, the narrator's tone is similar at times to that of the unreliable servant Roger in Bullein's Dialogue, which might make us suspicious of him. The phrase "The rich can shift" of the title-page definitely has a confrontational edge, too, virtually bullying the rich to "shift". The title-page indicates that this is Dekker's own perspective,

and he signs the prefacing addresses; but the "I" of the ensuing satirical narrative is captivatingly elusive, and the "warre" takes place in the persona's dream, providing some refuge for Dekker from any charges of sedition which could very conceivably have arisen from the publication of this pamphlet which dangerously parodies Royal Proclamations and bravely exposes the lesser governors' "shifts".

Worke for Armourours contains a short outer narrative as well as the inner dream vision outlined above--a structure highly reminiscent of that other more famous politico-literary work, William Langland's Piers Plowman, in which pestilence served as a warning to men to amend their proud, sinful lives. The bleak and ominous setting of the outer narrative of Worke for Armourours is unmistakably London caught in the grip of the economic, social and psychological depression concomitant on an outbreak of bubonic plague:

The purple whip of vengeance, (the Plague) having beaten many thousands of men, women, & children to death, and still marking the people of this Cittie, (every weeke) by hundreds for the grave, is the onely cause that al her Inhabitage walke up and downe like mourners at some great solome funeral (sig.B1r)

The title-page of the pamphlet has already indicated that plague is not the "onely cause" of London's melancholy and mourning: it advertised imminent armed conflict ("Open warres likely to happin this yeare 1609" and employment for "Armourours"). This implies that another plague-cloud (civil unrest) hangs threateningly over the city in 1609 as it had

done following Elizabeth's death in 1603.

The narrator proceeds to describe the depressing effects of the anti-plague measures:

... all merry meetings are cut off. All frolick assemblies dissolved, and in their circles are raised up, the Blacke, Sullen and Dogged spirits of Sadnesse, of Melancholy, and so (consequently) of Mischiefe Pleasure it selfe finds now no pleasure, but in Seghing, and Bewailing the Miseries of the Time Play-houses stand ... the doores locked up ...
(sig.B1r)

Meetings are forbidden and the theatres are closed: which plague, this tract encourages the reader to ask, were the authorities seeking to prevent--bubonic or rebellion or both? The narrator wittily predicts "mischiefe" as the outcome of this denial of bread and circuses to the populace. It was, of course, in Dekker's interest to seek to persuade the authorities that shutting up the playhouses was not a good preventive strategy against either plague. This line of thought is encouraged, ironically, by the narrator himself falling prey to mischief (if only in his imagination) when his boredom eventually gives way to sleep and dreams of civil war.

Like the apothecary, Crispinus, in Bullein's Dialogue, the persona of Worke has a very vivid imagination and a mind hungry for "profit" ("hunny" sig.B2v) which readily perceives emblematic tableaux illustrative of social iniquities in the world about him. Not of the cast to be attracted to drinking or whoring, and deploring to be idle and "wearisome" (sig.B1v), he crosses "the Hellespont" (the Thames) and--ironically--seeks entertainment in the hellish domain of a bear garden. This visit to the underworld

(recalling Menippus's descent) furnishes his eager yet cynical mind with unsettling, depressing images: the bear fighting with dogs reminds him of the poor (dogs) contending with rich men (bears). The substance of homilies (Dives and Pauper) is further evoked through a verbal echo:

... the Beares ... fighting with the dogs, was a lively representation (me thought) of poore men going to lawe with the rich and mightie. The dogs (in whom I figured the poore creatures) and fitly may I doe so, because they stand at the dore of Dives, they have nothing (if they have then but bare bones throwne unto them, might now & then pinch the great ones, & perhaps vex them a little by drawing a few drops of blood from them: but in the end, they commonly were crushed ... (sig.B2r)

Apart from being vaguely reminiscent of Crispinus's tyrannical tiger destroying the child in its clutches, this emblem also condenses the matter and moral of the ensuing allegory (as Crispinus's emblem did) and indicates its literary precursors. Dekker's tract is, indeed, a story of Dives and Pauper and its kinship with previous plague pamphlets, through its setting, concerns and devices, is apparent.

The emblem of the bear proves unstable in the eye of the beholder; before long a blind bear tied to a stake and being whipped represents "poore starved wretches" (sig.B2r) who ought to be pitied but instead are laughed at as they are scourged at London's whipping-posts. This whipping-post image recurs in the dream vision (as quoted earlier) enabling its meaning and import to be developed: in the allegory it is Money who by "strict proclamation" ensures her exclusivity and privileges by Draconian punishments

meted out to "beggars" who infringe her cities' bounds. The cruelty and injustice of a system which treats "poore Christians" like pagan Romans did Christ (at the Flagellation), needs no further explication--the animal emblems are highly effective in urging the author's point home. Dekker's writing confirms that some early modern Londoners (in common with many modern commentators on the period including Ian Archer) had strong misgivings about the sincerity of moralistic elite discourses justifying unpleasant controlling and ordering punishments of the poor which, in reality, served to protect and maintain the elite's own privileges. Through exaggerating the diseases of the suburbs which needed to be kept from polluting the City, and by emphasising the moral deficiencies of the masterless men, milder natured citizens might be encouraged to endorse harsh and unfair policies. Presumably it is the hearts and minds of these men that Dekker was seeking to touch and inform.

Worke for Armourours functions as a re-educating programme, appropriating the cherished ideas, prominent motifs and dubious claims of elite rhetoric, distorting, exaggerating and ridiculing them, in order to undermine and throw new, enlightening, perspectives on them. The tired ideals of English humanism are challenged (in Nashian fashion), for example, through the narrator's encounter with history books. Bored and rendered even more melancholy than previously by his trip to the bear garden, he returns home to seek profit ("larger interest") from his

"Histories":

I left swimming in those common sensuall streames ...
and waded onely in those cleare brookes, whose waters
had their currents from the springs of learning. I
spent my howres in reading of Histories, and for the
laying out of a little time, received larger interest
than the greatest usurers doe for their money.
(sig.B2v)

The moral profit he imbibes is highly dubious, even
dangerous: "Hast thou an ambition to be equall to Princes!
read such bookes ..." (sig.B3r); and culminates in his
falling asleep and dreaming subversive thoughts: the vision
of civil war ensues.

The reader immediately encounters, with the narrator,
the ragged troops of Poverty--"a people savage and
desperate, a nation patchd up (like a begger's cloake ..."
(sig.B3v). Now, as the dreamer describes the rout, the
important issue can be addressed of just who these unruly
beggars are in 1609. The much abused category of
vagrants/vagabonds is dissected and reconstituted. These
are not the wily rogues so humorously described in The
Belman of London (1608) and Lanthorne and Candle-Light
(1609); these are primarily Dekker's deserving poor who
reappear constantly and persistently throughout his
writings. The main strength of Poverty's army comprises
soldiers "casheard and cast, upon the late league in the
low Countries" (sig.C3v). As a militant Protestant, Dekker
would not have looked favourably upon the Dutch truce with
Spain--"peace" overseas would mean trouble at home, his
tract implies, seeking to tarnish peace's attractions; but
aside from this Dekker felt strongly that English soldiers

had been abused by their paymasters:

... they bitterly cried out upon the proud and tyrannous government of Money ... because for her sake, and upon her golden promises they had ventured their lives, spent their blood, lost legs and armes Money ... not rewarding them to their merit.
(sig.C4r)

Nashe had argued an almost identical line in Christes

Teares over Jerusalem; the "voice" of his tract

remonstrated:

No thanks-worthy exhibitions, or reasonable pensions, will you contribute to maymd Souldiours, or poore Schollers, as other Nations doe, but suffer other Nations with your discontented poore, to Arme themselves against you. Not halfe the Priestes that have been sent from them into ENGLAND, had hither beene sent, or ever fledde hence, if the Crampe had not helde close your purse strings. (f.84v)

For Bullein, in 1564, the worst extortioners of the poor (causing England's "plagues") had been Catholics and "non fidians", though hypocritical Protestants were also culpable. In 1592 Nashe implicated lack of charity at home in the Catholic threat from abroad and in a Catholic renewal at home; and in 1609 Dekker construed "parsimony" among England's Protestant citizens as contributing to a threat of a civil war, a threat enhanced by a truce with Catholicism. Lack of charity is inevitably wedded to disaster and intermeshed with the iniquities of Catholicism in these Protestant pamphlets: not only can lack of charity foment civil discontent; it is also allied with unwillingness to pay for the military defence of Protestantism, in turn promoting tolerance of, and even friendship with, the Catholic enemy.

Worke for Armourours argues that, along with the

cashiered soldiers, younger brothers of gentlemen, old servingmen (Shakespeare's Orlando and Adam of As You Like It may be recalled here), and poor scholars, have been particularly abused and neglected by Money whose prime followers are shady entrepreneurs, covetousness, parsimony and monopoly. Poverty is represented as desiring to dwell at amity with Money whose pride (swollen up by her successes in the "west and east Indies") and ambition lead her to divorce herself entirely (in spatial and responsibility terms) from Poverty:

... to drive the subjects of Poverty from having commerce in any of her rich & so populous Cities ... even to banish all her people to wander into desarts, & to perish, she cared not how or where. (sig.C1r)

King James's 1603 Proclamations calling for the eviction of "idle, indigent persons" from City dwellings and then from England altogether (to "some place beyond the seas") are evoked here (see above, p.189). In Worke the poor are forced out of cities by Money and kept out by an exaggerated system of gates and bars:

... all the gates shut, the Porcullises let downe, double lockes put to making, thicke barres to hammering, and all the subtilties which the wit of man could possibly find out, were put in practise to keepe Money safe within the City. (sig.E3r)

In the City areas previously occupied by "Poverty's company," "Money entertaines rich strangers of al nations" (sig.E3r). Meanwhile England's poor are compelled to "cling onely to the Suburbs", in case "they should revolt in time of most neede" (sig.E3r). Whips enforce the spatial separation; monopolies prevent the poorer tradesman operating in the City whilst enclosures force poor

labourers out of the countryside into a wandering penury. Enclosed, shut out, shut in, driven to "shift", to wander "in desarts", to despair: this is a terrifying discourse of separation, alienation, exclusion and exclusivity. Indeed, its horrific edge and penetrating satire, redolent with man's inhumanity to man, anticipate Jonathan Swift's A Modest Proposal: in Worke For Armourers Dekker displays a particularly masterly use of the satirist's techniques of distortion, exaggeration and parody.

Dekker's parody of a Royal Proclamation "By the Queene of Gold and Silver" (sig.E4v), at a time when James I was managing the country in the absence of Parliament largely through series of Royal Proclamations, was perhaps his most daring satiric gambit. The subject matter had an obvious bearing on the actual circumstances which had led to the food shortages of 1609. Money, fed up with the ranklings of "this [Poverty's] starveling scallion-eaters, whose breath is stinking in my nostrils, and able to infect a quarter of the world" (sig.F2r), decides to starve the suburb dwellers into submission and relative harmlessness. The alleged contempt of London's "Hard-hearted" (sig.E4v) wealthy for the poor is underlined by Money's exaggerated, disease-impregnated invective. This technique functions effectively throughout Worke to expose the use of such stigmatizing rhetoric as an unpleasant political strategem.

The "Queene's" Proclamation addresses "rich Farmers, Land-lords, Engrossers, Graziers, Forestallers, Hucksters, Haglers" and, ironically, "all the residue of our

industrious, hearty, and loving people" (sig.E4v). These are the hypocritical extortioners of the poor in the first decade of the seventeenth century, this tract argues; and it proceeds, through the device of the Proclamation reinforced by the marginal notes, to list their "shifts". Rich farmers who hoard grain and manage to raise its price artificially are particularly implicated in the current (1609) food shortages as they were in Christe's Teares in 1592-3. Money decrees:

Let the times be deere, though the grounds be fruitfull, and the markets kept empty though your barnes (like Cormorants bellies) breake their botten-holes, and rather then any of Poverties soldiers, who now range up and downe the kingdome, besieging our Cities and threatning the confusion, spoile and dishonour both of you and us, should have bread to relieve them. I charge you all upon your allegiance to hoord up your corne till it be musty, and then bring it forth to infect these needy Barbarians, that the rot, scurvy, or some other infectious pestilent disease, may run through the most part of their enfeebled army. (sig.Fl1r)

The effect of the Proclamation is to suggest that corrupt manipulation of the markets has royal approval, or, at the very least, the tacit consent of the authorities because an "enfeebled" underclass is more manageable than a robust one.

All this evokes a political and economic climate recognizable from another nearly contemporaneous literary work, Shakespeare's Coriolanus, whose plot similarly turns on food shortages, sieges, and social standoffs. Coriolanus is particularly fond of hurling volleys of disease-punctuated abuse at the Roman citizens who have taken to rebelling against the "belly" (the senators):

You common cry of curs, whose breath I hate
As reek o'th'rotten fens, whose loves I prize
As the dead carcasses of unburied men
That do corrupt my air: I banish you. (III.iii.124-127)

The imagery in Coriolanus, as in Worke for Armourours, revolves around which social group or its representative is most implicated in infecting the state with the disease of dissension: Coriolanus views the "common file" as "a plague" (I.vii.42) and "those measles" (III.i.82); whilst the tribunes regard him as "a disease that must be cut away" (III.i.96). Animal emblems also feature--is Coriolanus a tyrannical "bear" or a "lamb" (II.i.11-12)? Coriolanus, meanwhile, alludes to Rome's hungry citizens as "dogs" (I.i.203). Interestingly, in Dekker's tract *Money* is advocating exactly the strategems which that other representative of wealth and privilege, Menenius, denies are being used in grain-depleted Rome. Shakespeare's citizens accuse their rulers of unfair play: "They ne'er cared for us yet: suffer us to famish, and their store-houses crammed with grain (I.i.76-7)." Dekker's *Money* urges her devotees:

Hire ware-houses, Vaults under ground, and cellars in the City, and in them imprison all necessary provision for the belly, till the long nailes of famine breake open the dores, but suffer not you those treasured victuals, to have their free liberties till you may make what prey you please of the buyers and cheapners. (sig.F2r)

Here, the "belly" is undeniably "cupboarding the viand" (Coriolanus I.i.98).

In Worke For Armourours enclosures and rack-renting are a major cause of penury and misery, as they were in the mid-

sixteenth-century Commons Supplications, and in Bullein's Dialogue. Money orders her followers to "stretch ... the heart strings" of their tenants:

Racke your poore neighbours, call in old leases, and
turne out old tenants, those which your forefathers
have suffered quietly to enjoy their livings, and
thereby to raise fat commodities to themselves, and
begger families ... (sig.F1r-F1v)

This is the way beggars are made, this tract urges, again and again deflecting back the charges of idleness and of being disease polluters onto the extortioners of the poor whom it establishes as the real sources of moral corruption and the catalysts of dangerous dissension in society.

"Poore men fall not first out with the rich, but the rich with them", Worke for Armourours asserts authoritatively in a (Bullein-like) marginal note (sig.C1r), leaving no room for speculation--as there is in Coriolanus--about which social camp is most blameworthy in 1609.

Worke for Armourours is, on the surface, a remarkably secular plague tract from which God and the spiritual domain are starkly and deliberately absent. Money is unquestionably the only "deitie" in Worke:

Some ran out of the Church to see her, with greater
devotion following her all the way that she went, then
the former deitie they worshipped. (sig.E2v)

A marginal gloss--"Some for money will sell religion" (sig.E2v)--harshly underlines the author's view that it is not religious concerns but selfish financial ones which are shaping and determining political and economic policies in 1609. The inevitable social hostilities this generates breed "plagues" of one sort or another--but most

particularly the "plague" of economic stagnation--for everyone. This pamphlet, with its plague setting and its articulation of the Commons' grievances is, indeed, a sophisticated successor to the medieval "Warning to be ware" which forged homiletic and literary links between Commons uprisings, plagues and greed for riches. Worke for Armourours warns, however, not of God's wrath but of the poor Commons smothered rage; of their just thirst for revenge on the "plague" of money's followers which has forced them to "shift", and to live debilitated by hunger and disease, as the much berated "plagues" who have "pitched their tents" (for want of any better place) in the suburbs of Jacobean England.

The ultimate message, though, is a politico-economic one: this is simply not a healthy or effective basis on which to run a country and to nurture trade. Perhaps Dekker felt that the economic warning was, in the end, the only one that England's zealous devotees of money would respond to in 1609: an appeal to financial sense might just prevail in a situation where what E.P.Thompson has termed the "moral economy of the poor" was patently not (or was not
73
felt to be) functioning. Money in this tract does not listen to the just grievances of the poor: she does, however, alter her policies towards them (she opens her gates) following the Supplication from the Vintners and Innkeepers who are worried about their dwindling material profits. A fledgling capitalist society in the absence of a paternalistic moral economy is represented here, and there

are signs that Dekker--a shrewd political pamphleteer--was moving with the times in 1609, couching his arguments in increasingly pragmatic terms even if his own sights were still focused securely on the promise of that "heavenly crown".

III

The “Pocky” Body

Chapter 5

Sixteenth-century representations of the Pox.

Introduction: art and the "new" plague of the Renaissance.

But it's amazing that princes, whose duty it is to look out for the commonwealth, at least in matters pertaining to the person--and in this regard nothing is more important than sound health--don't devise some remedy for this situation. So huge a plague has filled a large part of the globe--and yet they go on snoring as if it made no difference at all.

(A Marriage In Name Only, or The Unequal Match,
1529.)

1

As Petronius, one of the protagonists in Erasmus of Rotterdam's dialogue indicates, a new world-wide epidemic sufficiently horrifying to be termed "a plague", was by the 1520s giving rise to urgent demands for public health measures to control it. Erasmus--probably the most widely read humanist writer of the Renaissance--was repulsed by the illness and appears to have spearheaded a health-education campaign against it; the concerns and motifs of his dramatic dialogues about "the Spanish pox" ("a kind of leprosy", the "Neapolitan itch") inform literary productions through from the early modern period to the twentieth century. As Claude Quézel's History of Syphilis renders clear, syphilis is the disease which to date (Aids is rapidly overtaking it) has "caused the most ... ink to flow":² it had a greater affinity with aesthetic creations, and in particular with the dramatic, musical, and visual arts of the Renaissance, than had bubonic plague. The next two chapters will attempt to understand why the new disease-phenomenon led artists and writers as diverse as

Durer, Holbein, Bronzino, Rabelais, Ben Jonson, Dekker, Webster and Shakespeare (to name but a few) to represent images of the syphilitic within the context of their art whilst, paradoxically, the majority of English physicians shunned even to write about, let alone to treat, its victims.³

A disease with an unstable name (was it the Spanish/ French/ Italian/ Neopolitan Pox/ pockes/ disease, 'il morbo gallico', or syphilis?) will not readily yield metaphors. When the Pox went under the vague guise of "a plague" (as in the above extract) it could potentially carry with it the varieties of meaning inherent in the metaphors of early modern bubonic plague, which were explored in the preceding two chapters. The new epidemic disease did, however, generate a complex web of meanings specific to its own signs, symptoms, and routes of transmission, which are best understood through an examination of its stereotypes and the associated personifications. Tracing the dominant constructions of syphilis's "victims" and "polluters" through the course of its first hundred years of existence--and the multiple namings of the disease are, as I shall show, related to these--opens a revealing window onto how representations of syphilis might have functioned in the literary form for which it showed its greatest affinity in the Jacobean period, the drama. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the French Pox appeared in a sustained way (rather than brief allusion or mere expletive) in a number of English plays which are in other ways very

different from one another. The curious attraction of this painful and disfiguring disease to playwrights and the consumers of their work warrants exploration and does, I believe, shed an interesting light on the current aesthetic appeal of Aids. The experience of our culture's new disease has certainly taught us that the appearance of venereal disease in art is too important to dismiss, as Eric Partridge did images of syphilis in Shakespeare's late plays, as insignificant bawdy too disgusting to merit serious critical attention ("to befoul yet further the already foul would be an unsavoury elaboration and an unprofitable"⁴).

A detailed outline of the structure and progress of "The 'Pocky' Body" is contained in the introduction to this thesis (p.29), and will not be duplicated here. As in "The 'Plaguy' Body", my discussion broadly moves from a description of the medical and social contexts of the disease to a chronological analysis of its representations. Whereas early modern English discourses of the plague have a characteristically local, London, focus and feel to them, those of the Pox, whilst frequently sharing this engagement with the metropolis, often exhibit more of a Continental dimension (functioning to articulate, for example, national boundary tensions and ethnic otherness) and/or ethos (participating, for example, in Continental humanistic debates and belletristic fashions). They are therefore appropriately located and viewed within a wider, European, discursive field.

(i) Medical realities?: early modern syphilis.

The terrifying and novel character of the "french pockes" was eloquently described by Ulrich Von Hutten, personal friend of Erasmus:

It hathe pleased god, that in our tyme sicknesses shuld aryse, which were to our forefathers (as it maye be wel conjectured) unknowen. In the yere of 1493 or there about this pestiferos evyll creped amongst the people, not only in Fraunce, But fyrst appered at Naples, in the frenche-mennes hoste (wherof it toke his name) whiche kept warre under the frenche kyng Charles, before hyt appered in any other place.

5

The "pockes" first appeared in Europe as an epidemic of dangerous proportions when the French king invaded Italy in 1494. Charles VIII's largely mercenary army of Flemish, Gascons, Swiss, Italians and Spaniards were, according to all Renaissance accounts, responsible for spreading the disease so rapidly and with devastating effect around Europe and eventually the world.⁶ Hutten undoubtedly shared Erasmus's desire to increase public awareness about the disease, encouraging prevention by raising anxiety levels (the shock-horror tactics now discouraged by health educators). He declared:

For whan it fyrst began, it was of suche fylthynes that a man wold scarcely thynke this sykenesse, that nowe rayneth to be that kynde. They were byles, sharpe, and stondynge out, havynge the similitude and quantite of acornes, from which came so foule humours, and so gret stynche, that who so ever ones smelled it, thought hym selfe to be enfect. The colour of thes pustules was derke greene and the syght ther of was more grevous unto the pacient than the peyne it selfe: and yet their peynes were as thoughe they hadde lyen in the fyre. (f2v)

The disease constituted an assault on all the senses and was so loathed, according to Hutten, that physicians

refused dealings with it (f.2r); hence the less squeamish barber surgeon trade cornered this market for its own. The tortures the "pockes" inflicted on the sufferer were in this account like having "lyen in the fyre", evoking a sense of hell on earth, or alternatively of religious persecution, of martyrdom.

As Hutten indicates, through the course of its first twenty or so years the disease changed its character becoming less rapidly and assuredly mortal and producing three stages of chronic symptoms in its victims which appear to correspond fairly closely to modern untreated syphilis. A brief recourse to the pathology of modern syphilis is helpful because the proliferation of myths and value-laden description in these early accounts make the "realities" difficult to tease out. It is possible, too, that some of the manifestations of syphilis, particularly the tertiary stage and most notably syphilitic madness, were not identified as belonging to this illness although their existence undoubtedly coloured the social climate surrounding disease and disorder.

Syphilis is a contagious disease usually spread by sexual intercourse. It can be transmitted by kissing but rarely in other ways because the 'treponema pallidum' bacterium which causes it is delicate and cannot survive for long outside the human body.⁷ Erasmus's anxieties about sheets, cups and baths passing on the disease and William Clowes's additional one about "close-stool" seats--however understandable--were probably unwarranted.⁸ Syphilis is

associated with decreased fertility but where pregnancy does occur it can be transmitted from an infected mother to a fetus in utero and via breast milk to a nursing infant.⁹ Congenital syphilis either leads to spontaneous abortion or to the birth of a deformed and/or mentally disabled, "sickly" infant. Early modern writers were certainly aware of the primacy of the sexual route of transmission and the horrors of its hereditary manifestation.¹⁰ In Dekker's The Honest Whore, Part 1 (1604) the reformed harlot, Bellafront, declares of prostitutes:

Th'are seldome blest with fruit; for ere it blossoms,
Many a worme confounds it.
They have no issue but foul ugly ones,
That run along with them, e'ene to their graves:
For, stead of children, they breed ranke diseases,
And all you Gallants, can bestow on them,
Is that French Infant (III.iii.53-59)

¹¹

Sex, sin, and disease are implicitly connected here. That "French infant"--the Pox--makes it clear that this disease, in particular, is being targeted in relation to sterility and deformed births.

The three stages associated with syphilitic infection often led sufferers to believe--erroneously--that they had been cured because symptoms abated or disappeared in the intervals between them. This characteristic, and its initial manifestation on the "privy parts", undoubtedly encouraged notions of the French disease as "hidden", "secret" and a "masquerader".¹² The 'chancre', or primary lesion of the modern illness appears two to four weeks after infection, usually on a genital organ. Six to ten weeks later the secondary stage develops with generalized

infection: fever, rash, pain in the bones, headache (worst at night), inflammation of the eyes and alopecia. Early modern writers describe all these symptoms in relation to Pox, frequently emphasizing the bone "aches" and the nocturnal headaches. ¹³ The surgeon Peter Lowe (1596), for example, highlighted the "aboundance of externall ulcers and pustls, falling of haire, both of head, browes, and beard: griefe in the joynts, head, leggs, and armes ... chiefly in the night" (sig.Blv).

As long as five to forty-five years later tertiary syphilis reveals its presence by one or several of the following non-contagious manifestations: by a 'gumma' or chronic ulcer on the skin, frequently the face; by heart disease; by general paralysis of the insane (a progressive dementia); or by tabes dorsalis (terrible leg and spinal pain producing deformity, arthritis and a peculiar wide, rising gait). The Tudor Interlude, Nice Wanton (p.1560), contains a particularly graphic account of some of the disfiguring manifestations of early modern "pocks" in its mature form. The fallen woman Dalila, now in terminal decline through her disease, complains:

My senowes be shronken, my flesh eaten with pocks,
 My bones ful of ache and great payne,
 My head is bald, that bare yelowelockes,
 Croked I crepe to the earth agayne,
 Mine eie-sight is dimme, my hands tremble and shake

 Where I was fayre and amiable of face,
 Now am I foule and horrible to se.

¹⁴
 Syphilitic brain dementia was not identified as such by the medical profession until the nineteenth century but it

is noteworthy that one of Erasmus's protagonists in The Unequal Match alludes to the intellectual impairment which the unfit bridegroom will inevitably suffer as a consequence of his disease.¹⁵ It is fair to speculate--but impossible to prove in the absence of reliable statistics--that a rise in what in the sixteenth century were termed "monstrous births" (birth deformities), in infant mortality, and in idiocy and brain degeneration (associated with bizarre behaviour) in the population, might have fuelled the witch-hunt craze and been a significant factor in the growth of institutions for the insane.¹⁶ In relation to witches, Richard Palmer has pointed out how in northern Italy in the sixteenth century, witches were thought to cause disease, especially where babies slowly declined and doctors could not locate a cause.¹⁷ Whilst learned sixteenth-century physicians seem to have understood the natural agency and manifestations of congenital syphilis, less competent practitioners practising in country areas would undoubtedly have been more ready to attribute any sharp rise in abnormal births and infant deaths in their vicinity to supernatural causes. Blaming witches might also have been deemed preferable to implicating fee-paying patients in the transmission of a hereditary disease associated with sinful transgressions.

Whether syphilis came to the British Isles directly from Spain, or followed the disbandment of mercenaries after the siege of Naples in 1495, spreading along with the followers of Perkin Warbeck from France to Scotland, is a matter for

conjecture. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, it had made its appearance in Britain. Leighton's The Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury, 1372-1603, records how in 1493-1494 the town of Shrewsbury was infected--"and about thys tyme began the fowle scabbe and horryble sychness called the freanche pocks".¹⁸ For the 21st of April 1497, the council register of the borough of Aberdeen records:

The said day, it was statut and ordanit be the alderman and consale for the eschevin of the infirmitey cumm out of Franche and strange partis, that all licht weman be chargit and ordaint to decist fra thar vicis and syne of venerie, and all thair buthis and houssis skalit, and thai to pas and wirk for thar sustentacioun, under the payne of ane key of het yrne one thar chekis, and banysene of the towne.

19

As this extract reveals, the new infection was felt to be intimately connected with foreign places and prostitutes: this is the first recorded British attempt to close brothels to prevent the spread of syphilis. Under the guidance of James IV, Edinburgh went a step further with its containment measures ordering the infected to be banished to the island of Inch Keith in the Firth of Forth.²⁰ There is no evidence that this actually took place; indeed it would have been a difficult ruling to enforce not least because the disease was rapidly perceived to favour the wealthy as well as the ill-clad and under-nourished poor. Sufferers who included the powerful and the well-to-do, could not be isolated and forgotten to the world as were, for all intents and purposes, the lepers of medieval Europe. Civic gestures to contain the disease for the most part amounted to repeated unsuccessful attempts to close the brothels (1506, 1513, 1514, 1545, 1546, 1547 in

Southwark) which tended simply to re-locate or re-open after a brief interval; and the establishment of treatment centres for the poor.²¹ In London, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's created "sweat" wards for this purpose--two²² of the latter's significantly named Job and Lazarus. Clowes claimed that between one half and three-quarters of general admissions to Bart's in the last quarter of the sixteenth century had the "pocks" (sig.B2v).

Treatments for syphilis were particularly barbaric consisting of evacuation (blood-letting and purging); being smothered with mercurial ointments and confined in a hot tub for days on end to sweat out the contagion; a strict and minimal diet to complement the purge; and, for the wealthy, the use of a preparation of the West Indian wood, Guaiacum, in a fumigation regime. Margaret Pelling has described the flourishing of the barber-surgeon trade in London in the later Tudor period: the barbers offered a variety of questionable treatments for the afflicted and crafted the wigs which became popular at this time, offering a fashionable means of concealing the baldness²³ caused by secondary syphilis. Brothels, too, became self-appointed treatment places for syphilis, as Ben Jonson's epigram, "On The New Hot-House", proclaimed:

Where lately harboured many a famous whore,
A purging bill now fixed upon the door
Tells you it is a hot-house, so it ma',
And still be a whore-house: they're synonyma.

²⁴
Indeed, much humour and local colour in Jacobean poetry and plays derive from allusions to the disease's treatments.

Pompey in Shakespeare's Measure For Measure appears to operate as both pander and house doctor for Mistress Overdone (who also keeps a "hot-house" II.i.63), advising Froth on his diet. In the same play, Elbow's wife's hankering after prunes (II.i.87), ostensibly because of her pregnant condition, may obliquely identify her as a Pox sufferer, too, and, thus, increase suspicions about her cuckolding of her husband: the surgeon William Clowes prescribes that the infected should eat fruit, "but onely prunes, raysons of the sunne and currants" (sig.C4v). Nuances of this type in the drama are undoubtedly lost on a modern audience, and on literary critics, too, who lack insight into the most pervasive chronic disease of the period and its management. Rene Girard's potentially fascinating discussion of "desire" in Troilus and Cressida is a prime example of how scholarly argument can be weakened and undermined by a failure to recognize allusions to syphilis which, in this case, pervade the playtext.²⁵

The disastrous effects of the painful yet ineffective "cures" in unskilful hands were graphically proclaimed by the famous physician, Ambrose Paré:

Yea many while they have beene thus handled [by fumigation treatment], have beene taken hold of by a convulsion, and trembling of their heads, hands and legges, with a deafnesse, apoplexie, and lastly miserable death.

26

Sweating treatments, he maintained, could lead to brain and lung disease, "stinking breaths", and even death. They commonly left a tellingly over-florid facial complexion; damaged the vocal chords producing the characteristic,

"cracked" voice; and caused the teeth to fall out. In a remarkably poignant and witty poem for such an inauspicious subject, Sir William Davenant, syphilis victim and poet laureate, gave thanks to his physician for curing the effects of his earlier treatments (c.1633)--"For setting now my condemn'd body free / From that no God, but Devill²⁷ MERCURIE" (ll.9-10).

Disfigurement, disability and the much-dwelt on bad smells (it is noteworthy that the "stench" of sin was a common motif in late medieval and early modern sermons) were the companions of the cures, then, as well as the disease. They met with crude answers such as the heavy make-up, strong perfumes, copper noses and velvet patches satirized in Jacobean literature. In Beaumont and Fletcher's Knight of the Burning Pestle, a knight with a patch on his nose declares, "Sir Pockehole is my name, / And by my birth I am a Londoner. Free by my Coppy, but my²⁸ Ancestors/ Were French-men all" (III.iii.391-94). In Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida (a play which, like Measure for Measure, hints at the rampant, often unjust slander associated with Pox allegations in Jacobean London) Cressida and Pandarus banter suggestively about Troilus's "complexion". Cressida jokes, "I had as lief Helen's golden tongue had commended Troilus for a coppernose" (I.ii.100-01). Masks, too, became fashionable and worn by both sexes from the mid-sixteenth century. It is worth recalling what a potent symbol of duplicity and vice these became, especially in the moralizing emblem books of the

seventeenth century.

The very real and sometimes horrific external bodily manifestations of the infection were intimately associated, then, with disguise: the signs of the disease, its chronic nature, and the clearly understood sexual route of its transmission, were integral elements of, and shaping factors in, its social construction.

(ii) Ordering the new disorder: the functions of names and myths.

If, in the early seventeenth century, a dominant fictional construction of the (bubonic) Plague was of Death--a tyrant stalking the suburbs of London, killing swiftly in large numbers--the Pox was the "living Death": a perfumed foreigner (usually French, Spanish or Italian) being slowly consumed by his disease, crouching in the "hams" (a submissive, pleading posture), given to lechery, and succumbing to the deceitful Venuses of the bawdy houses. In his exhaustive exploration of the Pox--The Hunting of the Pox (1619)--J.T. Westminster claimed, for example, that his leading character, Morbus Gallicus, was an Italian gentleman born in Rome, who had contracted the disease in France from the Neapolitan courtesan, Veneris.³⁰ Such extraordinary and vivid personifications of the Pox tell us much about how the disease was popularly understood and its stereotypes at this time--the lecherous, foppish male, the Roman Catholic (often, as above, these two types are conflated) and the harlot--which inevitably informed

the drama. This section will attempt to make sense of how and why these two embodiments of the Pox, so attractive for exploitation by the Jacobean stage, came into being.

In order to counter the common modern tendency to assume that early modern medical texts--as quasi-scientific works--would have been the most objective, fiction-free, sources of contemporary information about the disease, I shall begin by looking at some Renaissance physicians' representations of the puzzling new illness. The University-educated physician, Andrew Boord, tackled the problem in a popular book, first published in 1547, which is probably the closest sixteenth-century antecedent we have to the ABC home-doctor manuals of our century.³¹ The most striking thing about The Breviary of Helthe is its preoccupation with naming diseases. The "French pockes" warranted a particularly lengthy exploration of etymology which it, rather inexplicably, undergoes twice (differently) in the 1547 volume. The first entry begins, "Malafrantizoz is the araby worde ..."; progresses to "varirole maiores", "french pockes" and "Morbus gallicus" (f.xxxvii.r); and proceeds: "The grecions can nat tell what this sicknes doth meane wherfore they do set no name for this disease for it dyd come but lately into Spayne and Fraunce", before petering out. It is as if, because Hippocrates had nothing to say on the matter, neither has Boord--his usual authorities were, in this case, unhelpful (f.lxxxxvi.r). He does mention that the new disease is "lyke to leprosyte" (leprosy) because of the skin "skabbes

and pimples". The second entry is more helpful: after recounting the previous names, it adds more to the list (Mentagra and "spanyshe pockes"); focuses again on the external signs of the disease (festering and "cankerus" scabs, ulcers, boils and "knobbes"); suggests how it is caught ("specially it is taken whan one pocky person doth synne in lechery the one with an other" f.lxxxxvi.v); and briefly offers "A remedy". Foreign names, sin, sex, skin manifestations and leprosy are the linked elements in Boord's medical construction of the new disease.

Boord was not alone in his preoccupation with names, or, indeed, in his comparison of this infection with leprosy: in its early years the disease was almost always defined and understood in relation to the earlier, but by this time very rare, skin disease. Naming and categorizing were clearly extremely important to this early modern physician and presumably to the public who purchased his book; the text itself indirectly offers one explanation for this. In a rare passage in this usually cursory ABC, Boord digresses about self-killing:

Also we do kyll our bodyes ... as many dayly dothe
(contrary to goddes wyll) ... whan a man doth
abbreviate his lyfe by surfetyng, by dronkenesse, by
pencifulnesse ... by takyng the pockes with women, and
leprousnesse and many other infectiouse sicknesses,
beside robyng, fyghtyng ... (f.viir)

Pox, here, intimately connected with surfeiting, lechery, and criminal activities, emerges as a product of disordered, intemperate living: bodily and social disorder converge. Later, Boord exclaims: "Intemperance is a greate

vice for it doth set everything out of order, and where there is no order there is horror" (f.xxxvi.r). The new disease represented a supreme manifestation of disorder, producing "horror" which needed to be controlled. As in the case of bubonic plague, the physician could offer no effective cure, but Boord, like Lodge in relation to plague, could attempt to impose meaning and method on the phenomenon--thereby reducing the fear of chaos it evoked--through his pen. I am suggesting that defining and categorizing were ordering and taming mechanisms, like the related myths which grew up around the disease.

Pox in Boord's tract, associated with vice and lechery, is a direct manifestation of a social transgression involving a bodily orifice. The anthropologist, Mary Douglas, suggests that violations of taboos involving bodily orifices--marginal territory--are experienced by societies as particularly dangerous and threatening to order.³² This is surely the horror that both Boord and Von Hutten, above, express. Douglas associates isolating and cleansing rituals, such as those prescribed in Leviticus, with attempts to restore order: cleansing is thus primarily a symbolic rather than a hygienic activity which serves to reinforce the body of the Law and unite society in a common programme of restoring order.³³ Syphilis, as we have seen, met with particularly rigorous and torturous attempts to cleanse the body of its pollution; these "cures" persisted through to the nineteenth century in spite of the fact that they commonly exacerbated rather than relieved suffering.

Were they, perhaps, experienced as healing to the spiritual body or were they simply manifestations of the rather painful penance society exacted for the sin of sexual laxity? Medicine might not have been able to eradicate the disease but it could attempt--with society's permission--to control it.

Associated with vice, the disease was heavily stigmatized, and this provides another clue as to why it lacked a stable signification. Von Hutten, and later Francis Bacon, commented on how the French "put off the Name of the French Disease, unto the Name of the Disease of Naples" (Bacon) in order to avoid "rebuke" (Hutten, f.1r).³⁴ Nations as well as individuals could be tarred with the infection's stigmatizing brush: this became the disease 'par excellence' of someone else, some other nation. Undoubtedly, the disease's actual spread--outward from Naples with the French, Spanish and others returning from the wars--encouraged its "foreign" guises. It is significant that it was an Italian physician, Fracastoro of Verona, who invented a myth whose central character, the shepherd Syphilus (sic), eventually endowed the disease with a name which (at least by the nineteenth century) enabled it to shed its favourite French and Italian national identities.³⁵ In Fracastoro's extended poem--an imitation of Virgil's Georgics--Syphilus is afflicted with the disease as a punishment for setting up altars to the earthly king, Alcithous, instead of to the jealous Sun God. Several commentators have recently described how

Fracastoro's medical poem functioned to tame the sinful implications of the disease, deflecting blame and pleasing its wealthy readers at the same time as skilfully educating them about it.³⁶ Fracastoro describes other routes of transmission--notably poisoned miasmatic air--besides the sexual one, whereby the disease's prestigious sufferers might have caught the illness. William Clowes, as we have seen, engaged in a similar process to separate the worthy sufferers who read his book from culpable polluters.

The disease's social guises were commented on by Barnaby Rich in The Honestie of this Age (1614):

It is like the disease MORBUS GALLICUS, which in poore men we use plaine dealing, and call it the Poxe, but in great personages, a little to gilde over the loathsomenesse, we must call it the Gowt, or the Sciatica.

Similarly, he described how poor prostitutes were termed "Harlots", whereas those with well-to-do "friends" avoided incurring this damaging label. John Graunt lamented in 1662 how it was impossible to tell from bills of mortality (the subject of his study) who died of the French Pox because only the "vilest" persons from "the most miserable houses of uncleanness" were reported to die from "this too

frequent malady".³⁸ The Pox had social as well as national faces, then, and was strongly linked to hypocrisy--a feature eagerly seized on by early modern satirists and dramatists. The reality seems to have been that this infection, unlike bubonic plague by the early seventeenth century, was fairly evenly distributed across social, geographic and national boundaries.

Myths about the disease's origins abound in serious medical, as well as more light-hearted entertaining tracts, and like the related namings and attempts at categorizing they open an illuminating window onto the early modern understanding of syphilis. A few topoi are particularly persistent and noteworthy: lepers, prostitutes, foreign others, poison and cannibalism re-occur in fascinating combinations. In 1525 Pietro Mainardi wrote, for example, that the disease's origins could be traced to the union of a Spanish prostitute with a leper; the prostitute then went on to consort with, and infect, vast numbers of Charles VIII's soldiers.³⁹ Syphilis appears in this construction as a symbolic monstrous birth (all the more poignant because it did sometimes manifest itself in deformed infants) consequent upon an act of coitus perceived as unnatural and dangerous. Paracelsus lent his medical voice to a variation of this theme, declaring in his Chirurgia magna (1536) that the disease resulted from the sexual intercourse between a leprous Frenchman and a prostitute suffering from venereal ulcers.⁴⁰ Another famous physician, G.Fallopio in his De morbo gallico tractus (1560), advanced the theory that syphilis originated from poison put down wells by Spanish soldiers during the War of Naples.⁴¹ Poison and pollution, in all these theories, emanate from foreigners.

In his quasi-scientific tome, Sylva Sylvarum (1627), an early advocate of empiricism in medicine, Francis Bacon, hypothesized under the sub-heading "Experiment Solitary touching the 'Venemous Quality of Man's Flesh'":

... at the Siege of Naples, ther were certaine wicked Merchants, that Barrellled upp Mans flesh, (of some that had been, lately slaine in Barbary) and sold it for Tunny; And that upon that foule and high Nourishment, was the Originall of that Disease. Which may well be; for that it is certaine, that the Caniballs of the West Indies, eate Mans flesh; and the West Indies were full of the Pockes when they were first discovered ... (Century 1. Note 26)

Evil deeds ("wicked Merchants") and unnatural acts (eating human flesh) resulted in the "French Disease" (which was often represented as "consuming" of human flesh) and the evidence for this was that "caniballs" of the West Indies were "full of the Pockes". There is a relation here with the Columbian transaction theory--that Europeans contracted the new disease from the New World Indians--which remains⁴² current and plausible today though much disputed. Citing the New World and its natives as the polluting source (an idea which gained currency decades after syphilis first appeared in Europe) certainly enabled the Europeans (particularly the Spanish, French and Italians) to disentangle themselves a little further from the stigma and blame of it being "their" infection or poison--they could "put off" the disease, or deflect its origins from them, onto an other world. Peter Lowe's An Easie, certaine, and perfect method, to cure and prevent the Spanish sickness (1596) provides a useful example of this. Lowe was at this time surgeon to the French court of Henry IV and he clearly felt obliged to expend considerable verbal energy establishing the disease as the rightful property of the Spanish (not the French as the English popularly assumed). Having angrily gesticulated "There are some ignorant

malicious people, who call it the French Sicknes, without any cause or reason", and appropriating the authority of "Historiographers", Lowe relates how Christopher Columbus and his men imported this disease from the "Iles occidentalls" to Italy and subsequently spread it around the globe (sig.B1v).

Sander Gilman has proposed a plausible psychological model for interpreting such disease and contagion "projections" and myths. He maintains that it is the fear of collapse, the sense of dissolution, which "contaminates the western image of all diseases";⁴³ in order to manage this fear we project it onto the world, creating myths and fictions in which we find comfort. Such myths involve locating an easily identifiable infected other, mentally and materially outside our own social group, so that the danger to ourselves is perceived as less threatening; indeed, these fictions are sometimes so powerful that people will vehemently deny the real danger presented to them by a disease. An example of this from our own culture is the belief, strongly held by many and particularly by the young and sexually active, that Aids is a disease confined to homosexual men and prostitutes. These are the fictions that health-educators must dispel before they can begin to gain co-operation with preventive measures. Gilman describes how, because of the stigma attached to venereal disease, related myths circulate in order to account for the disease's appearance in people from our "own" social group: in early modern Europe the miasma theory;

astrological speculations; and the implicating of unwashed sheets and cups in the transmission of infection, would fall into this category of fictions. Gilman comments on how the fear of self-collapse presented by disease is always mirrored by a fear of chaos in society.

Anxieties about social disorder certainly penetrate and ramify through all these accounts of early modern disease but, I would argue, the characteristics specific to different diseases (in the case of this thesis bubonic plague and syphilis) do focus and channel these anxieties in different as well as occasionally similar directions. Materialities shape the fictions and consequently the artistic potential of diseases, too, will differ. Thus epidemics of bubonic plague, with their swift and deadly bodily consequences and their tendency to impose siege-like conditions on a community, were commonly aligned imaginatively in the early modern period with the social effects of war and civil strife. By contrast, syphilis's social meanings, mirroring its bodily consequences, centred on chronic corruption and degeneration. The latter were construed as manifestations of man's fallen condition and crucially, as we shall see, of ungoverned "appetites". Another feature of this venereal disease, however, was its tendency to flourish among soldiers and their prostitute consorts which produced a potential representational overlap with bubonic plague: both diseases had military significations.

(iii) Literary and visual antecedents for the
representation of the Pox and their sixteenth-century
developments.

Evidence that syphilis, at least in its most virulent manifestation, was unknown prior to the 1490s, has been drawn from literature itself: J.D.Rolleston, having scoured the Bible, ancient Greek and Roman literature and medieval texts, found no reference to a disease which could be safely identified as syphilis. Rolleston maintained that even the most "obscene" writers of antiquity, for example, Petronius--"a Writer who has raked in all the Filth and Nastiness of Stews and Brothels"--did not represent this particular illness.⁴⁴ Among the seven deadly sins of medieval writers such as Langland and Gower, and in Boccaccio's Decameron, there is no reference to syphilis; by contrast, gonorrhoea or "glet", with its characteristic burning pains, is frequently alluded to. It was, however, the Bible and the brothel literature, along with the popular medical tracts, which furnished the new disease with its earliest guises.

The first unmistakable representation of syphilis occurred in an edict issued by the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian, on August 7 1495, which construed the new affliction as "a punishment sent by god for blasphemy": it was, in its initial rapidly mortal form, perceived as a scourge, like "hunger, earthquakes, pestilence and other plagues ... of earlier times".⁴⁵ When it ceased to kill

large numbers of people rapidly, it appears to have been relegated to an inferior position to bubonic plague which persisted as "the plague, the pestilence" of the Renaissance. In Erasmus's colloquy Inns (1523), for example, one of the protagonists who is anxious about catching diseases through the unsavoury conditions and clientele in some inns, constructs what amounts to a league table of infectious diseases:

... every disease is contagious. Undoubtedly many have the Spanish or, as some call it, French pox, though it's common to all countries. In my opinion, there's almost as much danger from these men as from lepers. Just imagine, now, how great the risk of plague. (p.150)

Plague is considered most dangerous and contagious; then leprosy which by the 1520s was a rare illness; and finally the disease perceived as common to many countries and many men, the Pox.

The Pox in its chronic form continued to be regarded as an affliction sent by God, but biblical representations of leprosy-type illnesses with skin manifestations enabled the meaning of the visitation to be construed in a number of

⁴⁶ways. It could be a punishment for sin, for example, as leprosy had been for Miriam, the sister of Moses, because she had spoken falsely against her brother (Numbers 12).

Alternatively, there were the examples of Lazarus and Job, who were spiritually improved by their afflictions.

Lazarus's sufferings, in common with those of the Christian martyrs, were compensated for in the next world (Luke 16: 19-25). In the Bible Job's sickness had been sent primarily to confound the Devil, but it should be recalled how John

Calvin in The Institution of Christian Religion represented Job's skin infection as an outward sign of his inner corruption consequent on the Fall. For Calvin, such external signs served as a reminder of inner disease, to bring men to repentance.⁴⁷ As Hutten's De Morbo Gallico made clear, the "pockes" with its clear sexual route of transmission was most usually construed by "devines" as a punishment for sin, though he also alludes to Job and the sufferings of a Christian ascetic in his very full account of the alternative ways the new disease could be understood (f.1v-3v). In the process, as we might expect from this passionate anti-Papist, he criticizes the Roman Church for its promotion of idolatrous trinkets featuring "saynt Roche and his olde sores" as a means of staving off or curing the "pockes" (f.2r).

All these ways of making sense of the new affliction found visual expression in contemporary paintings and woodcuts. Sebastian Brant illustrated a verse broadsheet on the French disease (1496) with a group of sufferers covered in blotchy skin blemishes being attacked by arrows of disease hurled by an infant Christ; meanwhile his Virgin mother is rewarding the Holy Roman Emperor and his righteous followers with a crown.⁴⁸ This clearly refers to Maximilian's edict: this "plague" is a scourge of God, a punishment for sin. In Albrecht Durer's representation of the same year, a foppish man with long hair and a large feathered hat, who is covered in sores, is displaying his wounds as though they are stigmata. Durer has captured a

number of ways of "seeing" the Pox: his isolated victim is a martyr-type but he is also a dandy and the astrological sign above his head--five planets in the sign of the scorpion (ruling the genitalia)--implicates the stars in his pitiful fate.⁴⁹ Other Pox victims were depicted in a melancholic pose, head in hand, elbow on knee bending forwards in an attitude of despair being scourged by the Devil: spiritual purification is captured here.⁵⁰ These early depictions are all, notably, of the disease's victims. Some years later, and more persistently from about 1530, a different visual representation emerged which was important for later Renaissance drama: the polluting female, the harlot--Venus, Pandora, and Eve.

"Venereal disease" was an unknown term before the arrival of the Pox. The physician, Jacques de Bethencourt, coined the term 'morbus venereus' in 1527:⁵¹ "the disease of Venus" has an obvious metonymic relationship with "the act of Venus" which was the euphemistic term favoured by the medical regimens of the time for talking about sexual intercourse. Leprosy had always been linked with aberrant coitus (such as copulating with a menstruating woman), with high sexual libido levels, and with prostitutes; prostitutes were identified with genital disease. The new infection was associated with all these and male fears about contracting it became enshrined in the 'femme fatale'.

Late medieval English literature had yielded a potential model for this wanton-female stereotype in Robert

Henryson's The Testament of Cresseid. Henryson's Cresseid

functioned as a warning to "worthie Wemen" against "wantones" (stanza 77.1.549): her "Incurabill" sickness, leprosy, was depicted as a fitting punishment both for her blasphemy against Venus, and more importantly, for her "leving unclene and Lecherous" (st.41.285). This outwardly pretty, "Fayre", woman's inner corruption--her sin--became emblazoned on her body as shamefull proof of her infidelity to "worthie Troylus": "With byles blak ovirsprede in hir visage,/ And hir fair colour faidit and alterait."

(st.57.395-96). More than Cresseid's looks were affected, though: her noble social status subsequently declined to that of a "rank beggair" dependent on the charity of "the spittail hous" and alms. "Lovers be war" Henryson's conclusion moralized: "Ming not your lufe with fals deceptioun" (st.86.613). In his version, Cresseid met with her just deserts but she was not represented as a danger to mankind: isolated and ostracized from society, she ceased to constitute a threat to male health and well-being. This revised, unambiguous ending to Chaucer's poem met with market approval in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being published a number of times in several editions both with Chaucer's text (as in William Thynne's edition of 1532) and separately (notably Sir Francis Kinaston's Latin translation of 1639).⁵³ Kinaston's gloss on Henryson's poem is important for understanding how the poem was understood in the context of the early seventeenth century: "he [Henryson] learnedly takes uppon him in a fine poeticall

way to expres the punishment & end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery". Kinaston proceeded to record how Henryson died prematurely from "dirrhea or fluxe" under the curse of an "old woman ... who was held a witch".⁵⁴ Cresseid is, here, abusively termed a whore and female malevolence asserts itself in the form of a witch: Cresseid is no longer just a danger to herself; Henryson's depiction of her disease is rather curiously implicated by Kinaston in the poet's own painful demise. Henryson's leprous Cresseid has effectively been stamped over with the dangerous "harlot" brand associated in the early modern period with syphilis.

The harlot in medical literature had already achieved a high level of clarification in relation to another sexually transmitted infection, "burnynge" (probably gonorrhoea); this, for example, was Boord's colourful depiction:

This impedymēt dothe come whan a harlot doth holde in her breth and clapse her handes hard togyther and toes in lyke maner. And some harlotte doth stande over a chafynge dyshe of coles into the whiche she doth put brymstone and there she doth parfume herselfe If a man be burnt ... let them washe theyr secrets ... with white wine. (f.xv.v)

This variation on "getting one's fingers burned", is redolent with anxiety about beguiling women, their malevolence and potential to harm, and with male guilt, too, for this is effectively a depiction of the agent of male punishment for the sin of lechery. Von Hutten had succumbed to the temptation and got more than a "burnynge"; his fear and loathing manifested itself in the type of misogynist outburst which seems to have gained passion and

currency in some male-authored writing as the century progressed. He declared:

This thing as touching women resteth in their secret places, having in those places litle prety sores full of venom poison, being very dangerous, for those that unknowingly medle with them. The which sicknes gotten by such infected women, is so moche the more vehement and grevous, how moch they be inwardly poluted and corrupted. (f.5v)

Moral and physical pollution are conflated in Hutten's description of "infected women" who, with their "venom poison", are reminiscent of serpents, but alluring ("prety") ones--devils in disguise, perhaps? In the words of the French feminist, Luce Irigaray, "by the logic that has dominated the West since the Greeks", the woman's "sex organ represents the horror of having nothing to see";⁵⁵ we can only assume that this "horror" would have been markedly intensified for early modern males by the arrival of a venereal disease which heightened the importance of being able to "see" in order to decipher the marks of its presence on the female body. Indeed, even without the assistance of models from psychoanalysis, it is easy to appreciate the anxiety generated by the new venereal infection. The disease's primary manifestations were effectively, and very problematically, hidden from the male gaze: lechery had become as dangerous as a game of Russian roulette. Figuring sex, pain and death, and containing the possibility of the transgression of a taboo simultaneously with its punishment, the "harlot's" body had become a⁵⁶ highly charged erotic symbol.

According to the physicians' accounts, women were more

dangerous when aroused and when in their "menses": in 1527 Jacques de Bethencourt warned of "the special virulence of a courtesan's menses".⁵⁷ The old law of Leviticus appears to have informed the medical construction of the Pox; Mary Douglas's thesis is relevant and, I feel, illuminating here:

But as we examine pollution beliefs we find that the kind of contacts which are thought dangerous also carry a symbolic load I believe that some pollutions are used as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order.

⁵⁸
The belief that one sex endangers another through contact can, according to Douglas, be seen to express hierarchy, to symbolize the relation between parts of society. Male authority and dominance is undoubtedly inscribed in these depictions of tainted women: blame is conveniently deflected onto the "weaker" sex. In the terms of Douglas's categories, however, repeatedly emphasized anxieties about pollution entering through bodily orifices might also indicate fears about social instability. It is noteworthy in this regard that, writing for a predominantly elite male readership of the late 1590s, Peter Lowe represented sexual intercourse with "common" women as less dangerous to male well-being than that with "the other, who take greater pleasure therein, by reason that they use not the act so often" (sig.B2v). He grounds his conjecture--which he offers as fact--rather insecurely in the medical theory that the more heated and excited the woman's humours became, the greater the likelihood of the transmission of infection. The overall implication is that female lovers of

a more equivalent social status pose a greater pollution threat than "common" women. "The other" would also, of course, encompass the more powerful and articulate women: those who could conceivably have represented any challenge (actual or fantasized) to the patriarchal status quo. These ideas will be further explored in the next chapter.

On a more playful but related note, hidden and secret pollution and corruption, the venom of sensuous women, soon established itself as a recurring, witty and erotic motif in Continental belletristic productions; it reached a peak of popularity in Italian and French poems, songs and paintings, in the 1540s. Hubert Naich's madrigal, "Per Dio, Tu Sei Cortese", probably written and composed for Cosimo I's Florentine court was typical:

Good Lord, what kindness, O Love,
To reward my excellent service
With a dose of the French pox!
Does my goddess have those lovely eyes,
A sweet expression redolent of virtue,
An iv'ry throat and the canker (may it strike her!)?
These sores and aches
Lurked within my lady's downy breast,
As did the secret venom
That you concealed, which now becomes apparent.
So, since it is thus, may you be full of it,
And may your wings be riddled with this French pox!

59

Erwin Panofsky has described how Venus was depicted in a number of Mannerist and Baroque pictures propelling her tainted milk into the mouths of unsuspecting youths and into the stream of love, poisoning greedy imbibers.

60

Coquettish versions of her female analogues, Pandora and Eve, soon joined her as symbols of syphilitic pollution. Jean Cousin's Eva Prima Pandora (c.1550) in the Louvre is a

syncretic representation of this beautiful but dangerous female type. What informs all these depictions is anxiety about "secret" infection: because of the nature of the female genital organs and because, too, of syphilis's latent--"hidden"--phases, it was possible for someone to have the disease yet not to bear the outward marks of it.

Such representations were slower to emerge in countries seriously engaged in Protestant reform. Puritan prudery is not the explanation for this; indeed, deceitful Venuses and tainted Eves became common in the moralizing emblem books of the early seventeenth century. Rather, the disease's associations with vice and inner corruption--even in the absence of exterior proof ("signs" of the infection)--made it a wonderful vehicle for stigmatizing a priesthood long perceived as morally lax and a Roman Church construed as degenerate. As we shall see, Erasmus's Colloquies played a crucial role in establishing the motif of the Pox-ridden priest, and the Edwardian Interlude deployed a Protestant version of the "pocky" harlot in the name of godly reform.

(iv) Erasmus's Colloquies: establishing the Pox's
literary figurations.

Erasmus's vivid and entertaining Colloquies were the product of his maturity: initiated in Paris for a pupil to illustrate a model, colloquial Latin style, he developed and revised them over a number of years to reach their final shape--in which, in each case, two characters discuss a "burning issue" of the day--for eventual publication in

the 1520s and early 1530s. Conceived as a pedagogic tool to impart spiritual, moral and practical wisdom engagingly, they dealt with matters as diverse as war, marriage, government, education, religion, child-rearing and the "new" disease, in a style which was lucid, dramatic, witty, homely and heavily ironic. They were prescribed reading in the grammar schools of England and their success here was such that they appeared in numerous editions and translations.⁶¹ Describing the special appeal of the Colloquies to Englishmen, a modern editor, Dickie Spurgeon, has suggested that during a time of profound social ferment, they "furnished a practical, wise, and systematically Christian guide to conduct and belief".⁶² With their emphasis on personal responsibility and individual moral choice they certainly provided important models for godly behaviour in the reformed Church. The Protestant reformer, Philip Gerrard, addressed the Epistle of his translation of Erasmus's The Epicurean to the young Edward VI, characterizing it as "one of the godliest Dialogues that any man hath written" (p.119). The Epicurean contained a strong warning against "hauntynge of whores" linking lechery to:

... the new leprosie, nowe otherwyse named Jobs agew, and some cal it the scabbes of Naples, through whiche desease they feele often the most extreme and cruell paines of deathe even in this lyfe, and cary about abodye resemblyng very much some dead coarse or carryn ... (p.149)

Here, as elsewhere in the dialogues, the disease amounted to a living death in which the body slowly and painfully

rotted, was consumed or eaten away by corruption. Such constructions were meant to function as a strong deterrent to adolescent boys against "whoring"; or, as Erasmus described it, to impress on "young people ... [the] safeguarding of their chastity".⁶³

Nicholas Leigh gave his reasons for translating and publishing two dialogues (1568), one of which was the particularly popular The Young Man and the Harlot, as threefold: first, "for the pleasantnesse of the matter"; secondly, for "the triall of my selfe what I could do in translating"; and, thirdly, because of the "godlye and wholesome exhortations and lessons" they contained (p.310). In spite of their unsparing depictions of Pox sufferers, the Colloquies were perceived as entertaining; they had a strong literary appeal, and their significance to contemporary English writing and later satiric drama has been underestimated.

Erasmus was passionately opposed to war; intolerant of the abuses of the idle rich; critical of the deportment of priests and of the excesses of the Roman Church. It was no coincidence, then, that in the three of his dialogues which dealt most extensively with what he termed "the new leprosie", his syphilitic protagonists were a mercenary soldier, a luxurious whoring aristocrat and a Romish priest.

Clerical Hypocrisy and Romish corruption

Consider ... who is teaching, whom he is teaching, and at what time, on what occasion, and finally with what

intention. But most importantly consider whether what he teaches agrees with evangelical teachings, whether it is inspired by Christ and corresponds to his life.

64

Together with guidelines for the interpretation of texts in his Ratio verae theologiae, Erasmus provided the above formula for applying discernment to their commentators, the clear implication being, that not all spiritual instructors were trustworthy: rhetoric could be used for the devil's purpose, to deceive and beguile--"the discernment of spirits is difficult, and the angel of Satan sometimes

65

transfigures himself into an angel of light". The vigilant, conscientious Christian had to develop good skills in character discrimination and even then he could not be completely certain of his judgement because the man who believed himself to act in a good spirit might be in error. Martin Luther's "obstinacy in asserting", for example, made Erasmus highly suspicious of him and other "arrogant" reformers in this light.

66

A primary strategy of the Colloquies was to encourage readers to be wary of spiritual instructors in a Christian community undergoing profound upheaval; an upheaval meaningfully depicted in Erasmus's characteristic homely fashion in the dialogue A Woman in Childbed: "the house of the Church is shaken with dangerous factions: this way and that way is the seamlesse coate of Christ torne in

67

peeces". The characters receiving moral teaching in the Colloquies frequently make sharp and pertinent criticisms of weaknesses in their instruction, encouraging an invigorated sceptical consciousness in the reader;

sometimes, too, the spiritual guides expose themselves as unworthy, as the Romish priest does in The Young Man and the Harlot. William Bullein's Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence was similarly organized to keep readers on their guard: indeed, Erasmus's formula was probably a key factor in both the German and English reformers' frequent adoption of the interactive dialogue form, the natural successor to which was a drama of more complex "types". Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, for example--unlike the medieval morality plays--problematized the very nature of good and evil, rendering easy assumptions about their location in society untenable. Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene presents a comparable challenge to the reader, demanding active and ongoing participation in the construction of meaning and crucially in the discernment of veiled evil. The Protestant Reformation produced a climate of suspicion and intensified anxieties about hypocrisy: who were the good and bad angels; how could you recognize them; by what signs/marks; were you yourself one of the godly or simply self-deluded? As we have seen the new disease heightened fears about sexual contacts--how could you distinguish the clean woman from the infected? Anxieties about moral and physical pollution coincided: looking for "signs" to guide choices was imperative.

The external marks of a disease contracted in sin could be, and were, profoundly stigmatizing in this context: whilst English physicians were reluctant to write about it because of this, those discontented with the Roman Church

seized on its political potential. Religious upheaval left its mark on the social construction of syphilis: the decay and slow death of the body it caused, and its strong association with hypocrisy, were for some, and notably for Erasmus, analogous to what was happening in the Christian community. His colloquy, The Young Man and the Harlot (1523), effectively circulated the powerfully negative image of the Pox-ridden priest throughout the schools and universities of Europe sympathetic to Protestant reform, with important results. The figure of the lascivious cleric, having achieved a high level of clarification in late medieval satire, would not have been unfamiliar to sixteenth-century readers; the addition of venereal disease as evidence of his sin and God's punishment, was the new departure.

For this dialogue Erasmus had taken one of the common motifs of edifying fiction--the penitent harlot--and fashioned a shocking twist to his story. The reformed rake, Sophronius, who was once "wont to be amongst all the little goods" (p.351), converts the harlot, Lucrecia (shortened meaningfully to Lucre in this Tudor translation), out of her sinful ways with the gruesome warning:

And thou makest thy selfe a common Gonge [jakes], or muckhill whereunto fowle and filthy, scalde, and scurvie, doth at their pleasure resort, to shake off their filth and corruption. That if thou be yet free and not infected wyth that lothsome kinde of leprosie, commonly called the french pockes, assure thy selfe thou cannot long be wythout it ... what shalt thou then be, but a lump of quick carraine ... (pp.349-50)

This was a very novel construction for the time: here

filthy, "corruption"-full men (not signified as foreign) are the potential polluters of the whore, not vice versa. Erasmus appears to have been challenging society's familiar stereotypes and, in the process, creating new ones. The reason for Sophronius's impassioned reform was, he reveals, that "When I was come to Rome, I powred out the hole sincke of my conscience into the bosome of a certayne Frier penitentiarie" (p.354) and, to his horror, the priest confessed to being a former whore-monger and syphilitic. This dubious confessor urged:

Sonne ... if thou truely repent, ... I passe not on thy penance, but if thou proceed stil therin, thy very lust it self shal at the length bring thee to paine and penaunce ynough ... loke upon my selfe ... bleare eyed, palsey shaken, and crooked, and in time paste I was even such a one as thou declarest thy selfe to be. Thus loe have I learned to leave it. (p.355)

On a similar note, Lucrecia confides in Sophronius that many of her best customers are "reverend personages" (p.352). Motivated by subsistence worries not lust, she maintains she took up her dubious profession--for want of any better or a husband--to make ends meet: "I must get my living one way or other" (p.347). This is certainly a powerful little piece of dramatic satire which intentionally shocks and unsettles, stripping down the usual safe boundaries inherent in society's stereotypes and erecting new, unexpected ones. The stereotype of the syphilitic priest proved particularly appealing to the English reformers: the "Reverende and renowned Clarke Erasmus Roterodamus: whose learning, vertue, and authoritie is of sufficient force to defend his doyngs" (Nicholas

Leigh, p.313) became an authority to invoke when tarnishing the reputations of unreformed English clerics, as well as Romish ones, with the syphilis smear.

Shortly after this dialogue was originally published Simon Fish compiled A Supplicacyon for the Beggars deploying the motif of the Pox-ridden priest to further the process of ecclesiastical reform in Britain:

These be they that have made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your [Henry VIII's] realme, which wolde have gotten theyre lyving honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces, had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected theym to unclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankynd yn your realme; that catche the pokkes of one woman, and bere theym to an other ... ye, some one of theym shall bost emong his felawes, that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen.

68

Whilst "woman" is the primary source of physical pollution in this account, unreformed priests and monks are projected as the spiritual and physical corrupters of "the hole generation of mankynd". The force of this attack lies in the representation of a class of men who should be the spiritual elite, as even more reprehensible than harlots. To present them as male polluters rather than as male victims of "the pokkes"--the usual construction in male discourse--was, in the terms of Mary Douglas's categories, to downgrade the priesthood to the inferior rank and status equivalent to, or below, "wymen". Social inferiors are easier to subdue and victimize, and the cumulative effects of such rhetorical tracts undoubtedly assisted Thomas Cromwell's task of closing monastical properties.

The tradition was continued by the Marian refugees who deployed the Pox motif in propagandist tracts aimed at

undermining the hold of Catholicism in England. One of William Turner's polemical tracts declared, for example, that "the Romyshe pokkes" was "false religion papistrie,⁶⁹ and unwrytten worshipping of God, fathers fantasies". Similarly, when the Cornish Puritans supplicated Parliament about the "decay" of the church in the 1580s they claimed that Pox-ridden churchmen whose "infectious breath ... savoureth of carrion", made "God's children to abhor them, and the uncleanness and filthiness of their hands maketh⁷⁰ them unfit members to wait at the Lord's table". In the next century, John Milton resurrected this construction of Pox-corrupted clergy to damage the image of the established church: he maintained its representatives were "tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching but the sweating-tub, inspir'd with nothing holier then the⁷¹ Venereal pox". In all these representations, syphilitic infection is construed as emblematic of inner corruption and hypocrisy; because the disease could be hidden yet present it was an ideal vehicle for slander.

Erasmus's The Young Man and the Harlot encouraged a chain of political deployments which he, himself, might not have welcomed: horrified by what he saw as Luther's dangerous extremism, he decided to remain within the Catholic Church--a matter of some embarrassment to later Protestant admirers of his work. William Burton prefaced his 1606 translation of A Godly Yong man and a Harlot with the uneasy retort: "In the rest of the Dialogues, thou shalt perceive how little cause the Papists have to boast

of Erasmus, as a man of their side" (sig.L2r).

Syphilis and the family: confronting the "respectable" man
of luxury.

Women and children would, however, have had sound reason to invoke Erasmus as a man "of their side". Unlike the medical writers of the sixteenth century, Erasmus troubled himself with the effects of the new sexually transmitted infection on the innocent victims of male libertine behaviour--their wives and children. He took the culpable male polluters to task in a way which indicates he was far more concerned with the ethical and health messages he was trying to convey than with placating his male readers. The dialogue A Marriage in Name Only or The Unequal Match (1529), like The Young Man and the Harlot, challenged comfortable male assumptions about society's disease polluters.

Functioning as a rebuke to parental selfishness, greed and stupidity, The Unequal Match related how a beautiful girl was being married off--effectively sold--to a rotting "corpse", a syphilitic, wayward nobleman. His dicing, drinking, lies and whoring had earned him this "living death" which was subsequently to be unfairly inflicted upon his young wife:

Meanwhile, enter our handsome groom; nose broken, one foot dragging after the other (but less gracefully than the Swiss fashion would be), scurvy hands, a breath that would knock you down, lifeless eyes, head bound up, bloody matter exuding from nose and ears.
(Thompson, p.405)

This reads dramatically, like a stage instruction--"enter our handsome groom"--to produce a startlingly vivid, and bitterly ironic depiction of fashionable nobility. It is feasible to speculate that such colourful portrayals might have impressed themselves, forcefully, on the germinal minds of potential playwrights, including the young Shakespeare and Dekker, in their grammar-schools. Furthermore, Erasmus's authority effectively lent a seal of approval to images of the syphilitic emerging and functioning in a dramatic context.

The two participants in this dialogue, Petronius and Gabriel, do not advocate the wifely devotion to a Pox-sufferer admired by Juan Luis Vives in De Institutione Feminae Christianae (1524); on the contrary, they go so far as to declare this "a marriage in name only". The syphilitic has forfeited his rights as a husband and although the sufferer here is a knight with a coat-of-arms, he will soon be unfit for anything, and certainly not for leadership because, "undeniably this disease depletes whatever brains a man has" (p.407). In constructing this dialogue, Erasmus was clearly responding to worries about the spread of this disease particularly amongst the nobility and society's rulers: it repeats in a more accessible fictional form many of the points made in his Institutio Christiani Matrimonii (1526). Petronius declares that it is time for Princes to take action against the new contagion and proceeds to indicate some key preventive measures: kissing, sharing cups, sleeping in soiled sheets

and getting too close to people, should all be stringently avoided. Indeed, if Erasmus's facts about the transmission of the disease had been accurate, modern health educators might commend this piece of writing as excellent preventive health care propaganda.

Another dialogue, The Soldier and the Carthusian (1523), addressed similar and related moral and practical issues surrounding syphilis. Here, a foppish mercenary soldier returning from the wars in his slashed, multi-coloured garments (reminiscent of Durer's depiction) is carrying the disease with him as "booty". He meets a Carthusian who takes him to task, declaring that the disease should be "shunned all the more" because it is "widespread, particularly among the nobility" (Thompson, p.133). The shock of this piece lies entirely in its unsparing depiction of the decayed syphilitic--horrifying images are piled up transforming a would-be cavalryman and "centaur" into a stooped, crippled, contracted "semi-creeping creature" with an ugly Pox-scarred face (p.132). The spiritual disintegration of the soldier is brought about by the corrupting effects of war; its futility and destruction is mirrored in the physical rot of his body. The Carthusian's final rebuke is, "Now you'll infect with this disease those who ought to be most precious to you"--his wife and children (p.133).

From the time of its earliest appearance, syphilis prompted heated ethical debates centring on marriage and moral duties to one's spouse and children. Vives was an

authoritative spokesman for one side, Erasmus for the other; Erasmus's views, popularized by his Colloquies, held important sway in Britain. In 1530, in his lectures on canon law at the University of Aberdeen, for example, William Hay asserted: "It is not lawful to ask for intercourse or to agree to it if one of the parties of the marriage has the Neapolitan sickness".⁷²

In her discussion of Ibsen's Ghosts and Eugene Brieux's Damaged Goods, which both give dramatic expression to the moral and practical dilemmas surrounding syphilis and families, Barbara Fass Leavy has argued quite erroneously that "syphilis and marriage" was, in Ghosts' time (1881),⁷³ "only beginning to receive public attention". Leavy appears to be unaware of Erasmus's treatment of these emotive issues in the Colloquies which were repeatedly published, translated, and used as pedagogic tools in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the physician Eugene Fournier's book Syphilis and Marriage (1880), which Brieux drew on for his play, echoes of Erasmus reverberate throughout, either by coincidence (the public and family health hazards posed by the disease were basically the same in the nineteenth century as they were three-hundred years earlier) or more conscious design. Concerned about the effect of syphilis on the "honest woman", Fournier argues, for example, that the responsible physician must concern himself with whether a bridegroom might "give a virtuous young woman the pox as a wedding present".⁷⁴ As well as disseminating facts about the

disease's spread, Ibsen, Fournier and Brioux were all concerned--as Erasmus had been--to shatter the veil of hypocrisy surrounding syphilis: to deflect blame from poor female prostitutes driven to their occupation to survive materially, onto the upper class whore-mongers whose money and privilege fed their crime producing widespread misery. This was not, as Leavy implies, novel territory for dramatists--English Jacobean playwrights, undoubtedly encouraged by Erasmus's worthy and successful foray in this direction, had been there before.

Syphilis's earliest stage deployments, though associated with depictions of prostitution and faulty family relationships were, however, of a rather different but equally polemical cast.

(v) The harlot's disease. "Pocky" bodies in "godly" Tudor Interludes: "Nice Wanton" and "The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene".

"In godly myrth to spend the tyme we doe intende"
(The Prologue, Marie Magdalene, sig.A3r)

The profound significance of the "pocky" bodies in these "godly" Interludes has, to date, been neglected by literary critics; yet, taken together, these two Protestant morality plays illustrate the range and importance of the doctrinal issues and symbolism surrounding the new leprosy-like disease for the purveyors of the reformed (or, more accurately, reforming) religion. ⁷⁵ Probably written to be acted by choirboys before a courtly audience presided over

by the young Edward VI, these plays sought both to amuse and to instruct: as in Bullein's Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence, Protestant health-giving wisdom was construed in Erasmian, humanistic terms, as requiring an accessible and entertaining vehicle.

"Godly myrth" was thus a key conjunction but achieving the implied balance between godly instruction and pleasure was not a simple matter when the latter was largely dependent on the portrayal of vice. Lewis Wager found it necessary to defend his Interlude in the Prologue against detractors who recognized the material as well as the spiritual profit that the pleasurable aspects of the depictions of vice could attract: "O (say they) muche money they doe get" (sig.A2v). Rather paradoxically, and in the manner of Marlowe's Dr.Faustus, these early Protestant dramatists clearly recognised, and exploited, the compelling theatrical value--the tantalizing erotic and comic possibilities--of sin. Consequently, in the Edwardian Interludes, as in later Protestant drama (notably, for example, Dekker's The Honest Whore), a "creative tension" often exists between the moral/religious design of the work and "the pleasure of exposition".⁷⁶

As John King has argued, in the Protestant Interlude fornication tends to become "a composite symbol for the seven deadly sins".⁷⁷ He cites as the main reason for this John Bale's development and popularization for the English context of the Lutheran identification of the Whore of Babylon of Revelation with the Church of Rome: dramatic

bawdry thus came to symbolize "the 'spiritual fornication' of Roman ritualism".⁷⁸ When, therefore, the audience witnessed the seduction and fall of Dalila in Nice Wanton and Marie in Marie Magdalene they were simultaneously engaging with the plays' allegorical levels of meaning in which, according to the Protestant reformers' version of history, the True, undefiled Church was sullied and temporarily superseded by the corrupt False Church of Antichrist. Naturally--given the popular association of Pox with prostitutes--the harlot Church, like her lascivious priests, had a special imagined affinity with venereal disease: in his propaganda pamphlet provocatively entitled A new booke of Spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande (1555), the Marian exile, William Turner, recorded how thoroughgoing the stigmatizing tie between "thys abominable frenche pox" and Catholicism could be. Turner, "doctor of Physik", reconstrues the origins of the "pokkes" in a "noble hore" of Italy (f.74r):

There was a certeyne hore in Italy, whych had a perillus disease called false religion ... all the kynges and nobilitie of the earth ... they committed fornication wyth her ... and caught the Romishe pokkes. (f.74r)

The anti-Rome propaganda in the two Interludes under discussion is considerably more subdued than this, depending, for its effect, on the audiences' prior apprehension of the significance of the "harlot" and her attendant Catholic Vices to Protestant history. Both Dalila and Marie, however, face death from the "pokkes" as a

fitting punishment meted out by God for their "fornication" but the deployment of the disease in each of the plays functions primarily to illustrate an aspect of Protestant doctrine and undoubtedly, too, to further Erasmus's worthy endeavour of "safeguarding ... chastity" in young people (see above p.285).

Indeed, the Edwardian dramatization of prostitution and venereal disease carried a far greater symbolic weight than can be satisfactorily accounted for by invoking Bale's crude propaganda models. To understand fully, for example, Lewis Wager's The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene we must return to Calvin's teachings in The Institution, and particularly to his exposition of original sin. To recap, briefly,⁷⁹ Calvin apprehended original sin as an inherited disease of the soul productive of "workes of the flesh ... Sinne" (II.I.8. f.4r); the infection sprang from Eve's transgression which was prompted by "infidelitie": "The woman was with the deceite of the Serpent led away by infidelitie" (II.I.4. f.4v). "Infidelitie" is the leading Vice in Wager's Interlude, and Marie's fall from grace, signalled by her embracing Pride, Cupiditie, and Carnall Concupiscence (and thus succumbing to the works of the flesh), and adopting an appearance suggestive of a Southwark prostitute ("So that I might be plesant to every mans eye" sig.B3r), is depicted as a consequence of her seduction by this composite personification of sin and evil. "Infidelitie," as the antithesis of "Fayth," is the "head of all iniquitie, / The well and spryng of all

wickednesse" (sig.A4r). He is a hypocrite wearing a "face" of love and honesty where there is only lechery and deceit; and who frequently changes his "gowne", "cappe", and "visour", in order better to beguile and seduce his victims. As Adam's corrupter he is "the Serpents sede", offspring of "Sathan" (sig.B3r); and as "Moysaicall Justice" (sig.A3v) he represents the old Law, the old Faith (encompassing for this Protestant play, Judaism and Roman Catholicism) which betrayed, and was perceived in the mid-sixteenth century as continuing to betray, Christ: "Infidelitie all mens heartes doe occupie:/ Infidelitie now above true Faith doth remayne", Infidelitie rejoices (sig.A4r). On a more material, human plane, he is the embodiment of unrestrained appetite preoccupied with culinary as well as sexual gratification ("we had wonderfull good fare ... plentie of fleshe and fishe" sig.A3v); and, crucially, he is a consummate pimp who encourages and promotes sexual liaisons outside wedlock. Exploiting Marie's immaturity and abusing her trust in his age and authority, this false spiritual guide urges, "Your bodily pleasure I would have you to exercise" (sig.B2r). In the sixteenth century "infidelity" had long signified "want of faith; unbelief" (OED2 [1]) but the modern meaning of sexual, especially marital, unfaithfulness or disloyalty seems to have emerged in this period (OED2 [3]), first noted use, 1529). Undoubtedly this extension of meaning to the sphere of personal relationships derived from the perceived centrality of marriage to the Protestant

programme of reforming the morals of the priesthood and of society generally: quite simply, being one of the faithful, a member of the True Church, involved containing one's sexual appetite within the institution of marriage. The punishment for not doing so was likely to be a dose of "the pocks" and, indeed, it is this meaningful knowledge of the consequence of sin which leads to Marie's reform.

Mistaking Infidelitie for Prudence because of his deceptive "geare", Marie describes to him the fearful sexual encounter which initiates the process of her spiritual rebirth. Ironically, her incredulous account of her ravishment constitutes one of the comic highpoints of the play: on repairing to bed she found "hym in the flaxen beard" hiding there like "some yll spirite" smelling of "muske and civet" (sig.E2r). This is the depiction of a diseased lecher disguising his bad smells (of sin and infection) with sweet perfumes. This anxiety-producing liaison results in her confrontation with "the Lawe" and her introduction to a further personification, "Knowledge of Sinne": a Protestant Virtue who kindles her conscience setting her on the road to repentance mainly, it seems, through his appearance. We can only guess how this figure looked, but Infidelitie's abusive response to his entrance gives us some idea:

Lo, Mary, have ye not sponne a fayre threde?
Here is a pocky knave, and an yll favoured;
The devill is not so evill favoured, I thinke in dede,
Corrupt, rotten, stinkyng, and yll favoured.
(sigs.E4v-F1r)

"Knowledge of Sinne" is surely in the guise of a sufferer

from "that lothsome kinde of leprosie": rotten, stinking, and disfigured like the priest in The Young Man and The Harlot and the bridegroom in The Unequal Match. This makes sound doctrinal sense if we attend once again to Calvin's teaching and his emphasis on the significance of "The history of Job":

... to throwe men down with knowledge of their owne follye, weakenesse and uncleannesse, bryngeth alwaye his princypal profe ... describing Gods wisdom, strength and cleannes ... (I.I.3. flv)

Marie, like Job, is alerted to the sullied state of her soul, to her need for repentance, by its external manifestation as a physical disease: Knowledge of Sinne is, in fact, an embodiment of the Pox and of the fate which awaits her if she continues to prostitute her body. Once she has grasped the nature of her diseased conscience through viewing this "pocky" personification of it she pleads: "O blessed Lawe shew me some remedy!" (sig.F1r). Marie subsequently turns from the corrupting effects of Infidelitie and happily finds her "salve and medecine" (sig.F2r) in Christ, Faith and Love. Having, therefore, forsaken the old "Moysaicall Justice" for Christ, the Word, the new Law, and having reformed her morals and set about regenerating her soul through faith and love as a good Protestant, Marie is spared the slippery downward slope of inner and outward corruption symbolized in this play by the Pox. This version of Mary Magdalene's story illustrates the fundamental Protestant doctrine of justification by faith; but Wager's dramatization of Calvin's insights and of Marie's personal conversion is simultaneously a

representation of, and a model for, how the Christian Commonwealth might be healed by a more thoroughgoing conversion to Protestantism, thus avoiding the slow spiritual and social degeneration threatened by the continued adherence of many to the old "infected" religion of Rome and to Infidelitie. Emblematic of sin and corruption, and associated with fear, pain, and suffering, the "new leprosie" (The Epicurean) was a powerful mediating disease-construct for the Protestant message.

In both Marie Magdalene and Nice Wanton, correct parental management and education of youth are presented as crucial elements in the reformers' vision for the individual's and society's spiritual and moral rebirth. In the terms of these plays' often rather crude constructions and blatant symbolism, effective government of children can prevent potentially prodigal daughters and sons becoming terminally diseased harlots and thieves. As Infidelitie gleefully construes it: "Of parentes the tender and carnall sufferance,/ Is to yong maidens a very pestilence" (sig.B2r). Marie's too-indulgent upbringing by her parents--"me as their dearlyng, they most reputed" (sig.B2r); "My requests they would always to me render" (sig.B2r)--prepares her to be especially susceptible to Infidelitie's charms. As a spoilt child she is construed as more likely to turn to harlotry, synonymous both with prostitution and with the old "fornicating" religion, Catholicism.

Nice Wanton similarly, but even more emphatically, instructs its audience about the hazards of weak and

ineffectual parenting. The Prologue is a homily on the importance of family discipline ("He that spareth the rod, the chyld doth hate" sig.A1v); the action proceeds to depict the disastrous effects of indulgent mothering; and at the conclusion the godly sibling Barnabas restates the play's insistent, indeed obsessive message:

... by thys Interlude ye mayse
How daungerous it is, for the frailtye of youth,
Without good governaunce, to lyve at libertye.
(sig.C1v)

Barnabas's "speciall grace,/ To avoyd evil, and do good" (sig.C1v), apparently renders him resistant to the moral disease nurtured by lack of parental "governance": "small thanke" (sig.C1v) to his mother he is spared the seduction by Iniquitie and the subsequent terminal decline which the audience witnesses in Ismael and Dalila. Through portraying the upbringing of three siblings--"Three braunces of an yll tree, ... Two naught, and one godlye" (title-page)--Nice Wanton gives clear dramatic expression to the Protestant doctrine of Predestination. As one of the elect, Barnabas functions as a youthful and thus especially authoritative spokesman for the "young" reformed religion advocating "good learnynge" to instil "qualities" (sig.C2r), and firm discipline of children. His rather dire, if crudely simplistic, warning to parents is unequivocal: "chastice them before they be sore infect" (sig.C2r).

Here, as in Mary Magdalene, spiritual corruption is externalized as physical disease, but in this play the fallen woman's sin becomes emblazoned on her own body as

Pox infection (see above p.258): for Dalila, unlike Marie, there is no escape. Like Erasmus's priest, syphilitic disease renders her "bleare eyed, palsey shaken, and crooked" and in a manner highly reminiscent of Henryson's leprous Cresseid, reduced to the status and appearance of a beggar, Dalila laments her pain and deformities and chastises herself for her "filthy living". Whereas, however, Cresseid's blasphemy and "wantones" were construed as entirely to blame for her fate, in Nice Wanton the parents, especially Xantippe the mother, must share the burden of guilt with their daughter. Offering herself as a spectacle of diseased corruption, Dalila complains: "My parentes did tidle me, they were to blame,/ In steade of correction, in yll did me maintain" (sig.B2r). Aberrant parenting, conceived as allowing too much "libertye" (sig.C1v), "ydelnes and play" (sig.A2v), and as an absence of "sobre correction" (sig.A3v), has caused the prodigal daughter to become "a strong whore" (sig.B4v) and the even more reprobate son to emerge as a "strong thief & a murderer" (sig.C1r). Dalila dies from her actual disease, acknowledging, "Justly for my sinnes God doth plague me" (sig.B2r), and Ismael is "hanged in chaynes" (sig.B4v) for the crimes consequent upon his moral infection. Crime and vice in this Interlude thus become instances of the type of self-killing alluded to in Boord's contemporaneous medical tract: disorder, consequent upon the parents' negligent and intemperate management of their offspring (construed as over-indulgence), leads to "horror" which is tangibly, if

melodramatically, conveyed through the mother's despair ("It slaeth my heart and breaketh my braynes" sig.C1r) and suicidal gesturing on hearing of her "tender tidlynges'" premature deaths (sig.A2r).

In Nice Wanton Dalila's syphilitic harlot-body functions as a potent theatrical symbol of individual, social and Church disease and decay caused by adherence to the old "fornicating", undisciplined ways associated with the unreformed religion. As such, she constitutes an affront, and a warning, to the society construed as having created both what she symbolizes, and her fleshy likenesses in the stews of Southwark. Prostitution and its concomitant infection emerge from this heavily Protestant construction as matters for communal concern and responsibility: the focus of blame shifts here from the young whore's body (where it remained in Henryson's Cresseid) to the family and the moral-religious climate which produced it. It is significant that Worldly Shame makes his appearance towards the end of the Interlude to abuse and denigrate Xantippe as a whore: "Such a jade she is and so curst a quene/ She would out scold the devils dame I wene" (sig.B4v). This unpleasant, misogynist personification of shame serves to highlight the allegorical implications of the action: Xantippe, daubed as a shrew and a harlot, and representative of the older generation, is a composite personification of the unregimented, irresponsible, indulgent and depraved manners and lifestyle of the "Old" (including the harlot-Church) which nurtured infection;

meanwhile, her young and saintly son Barnabas represents hope for a healthful Protestant future in which sound "governance" of the self and of youth is seen as pivotal.

In these two Interludes, as in Bullein's dialogues, we see the Protestant appropriation of the discourse of medicine (encompassing its disease-constructs) for the purposes of giving meaningful clarification and an emotive edge (disease is always associated with fear and medicinal cures with gratitude) both to doctrinal issues and to anti-Catholic propaganda. Thus, for example, the Virtue, The Lawe, instructs the conscience-stricken Marie Magdalene:

Thy sore is knowen, receive thy salve and medicine,
I have the sicke to the leache, give good eare,
Hearken diligently unto his good discipline,
And he will heale thee ... (sig.F2r)

These are old and familiar biblical, homiletic metaphors of healing but, as is becoming increasingly clear, the reformers built on ideas and fears associated with particular sixteenth-century diseases and contexts to address contemporary problems and to articulate specifically Protestant "cures". Syphilis's associations with the sexual act and with original sin meant that the disease became a familiar motif in literature pre-occupied with morals, vice and the fallen condition generally. Although as another pestilence there is inevitably some overlap in its deployments, bubonic plague had, as we have witnessed, developed an affinity with discourses of greed and riches which, through the course of the sixteenth century, emerged with more specific politico-economic designs. In the mid-sixteenth century the social

constructions of both infections were strongly bound up with the polemics of the Reformation. Inevitably the Tudor representations inform those of the early seventeenth century but the meanings of these diseases shift, as we should expect, with historico-cultural change: fifty years on the Pox is being deployed on the Jacobean stage for related, yet transformed ideological purposes, and with increasingly sophisticated aesthetic effect.

Chapter 6

Jacobean Representations of the Pox.

It is a curious fact that when the London theatres reopened after the major bubonic plague epidemic of 1603, a cluster of plays emerged which, through their imagery, allusions and themes, directed their attention not to "the" plague but to the venereal sister plague--the French Pox. Prostitutes, courtesans, panders, bawds, and lecherous males with their attendant "infection" became commonplace types on the Jacobean stage for a number of interrelated reasons which it will be the purpose of this chapter to explore. Among the first seventeenth-century plays to engage extensively and explicitly with the Pox was Dekker and Middleton's The Honest Whore, Part I (1604) which contains a dramatized rendering of key elements of Erasmus's The Young Man and the Harlot--a fact which has been overlooked by Dekker's modern editors but which was surely crucial to the sanctioning of the brothel locus and the venereal disease topos emerging so centrally on the Jacobean stage. Furthermore, the fallen woman of The Honest Whore is recognizably a Protestant Mary Magdalene type, signalling a continuity of tradition with Tudor moral drama.

The Pox also appears in Dekker's pamphlets and these representations yield important insights into the social construction and literary appeal of syphilis as contrasted with bubonic plague. It is thus back with Dekker's plague

pamphlets that this exploration of early seventeenth-century deployments of the Pox should begin.

(i) Deployments of the Pox in Dekker's pamphlets: London's vice and the politics of prostitution.

Reduced to its simplest Christian homiletic form syphilis was, for Thomas Dekker, the just wages of the sin of lechery. In Newes from Graves-ende he graphically depicted the fate of the personified "deadly sins" in plague time; arriving at the "adulterous and luxurious spirit" (sig.F2r) the reader is transported away from a pitiful, dying lecher to a thriving brothel of "painted harlots" and "half-fac'de Panders" who "smile at this plague" because:

Knowing their deaths come o're from France:
Tis not their season now to die,
Two gnawing poisons cannot lie,
In one corrupted flesh together ... (sig.F2v)

The French disease is another infection, quite distinct from "this" or "the" plague and in this construction its poisonous presence in the body precludes death from bubonic plague ("Being guarded with French Amulets" sig.F2v). In Worke for Armourours "the" plague was construed as the disease of Poverty's suburban camp whilst Money's city dwellers were prone to the "gnawing" consumption consequent upon "Ryot" (sig.G2v). What was the writer's strategy, then, when in the same year, in Lanthorne and Candle-light (1608/9), "The Infection of the Suburbs" was emphatically introduced as both plague and Pox--the latter the disease

of whoring enshrined in the "taffata"-gowned harlots and the "carted bawdes" of the "Forreiner's" territory, outside¹ the City walls of London?

In Lanthorne and Candle-light the "Bel-man", functioning as an indefatigable and privileged searcher-out of vice, is the reader's guide through the metropolis by night. In fact, although the suburbs are initially represented--as in the City governors' rhetoric--as the focus of London's "infection" (moral and physical), something far more complex ensues which cleverly subverts this conventional construction. The motif of "shutting (or locking) up," familiar from the plague pamphlets, is employed to draw a sharp, contrasting line between the two main "infections" of the suburbs:

... when the dore of a poore Artificer (if his child had died but with one Token of death about him) was close ram'd up and Guarded for feare others should have beene infected: Yet the plague that a Whore-house layes upon a Citty is worse yet is laughed at, The Tradesman having his house lockd up, looseth his customers, is put from worke and undon: whilst in the meane time the strumpet is set on worke and maintain'd (perhaps) by those that undoe the others: give thanks O wide-mouth'd Hell! (sig.G6v-H1r)

In characteristic Dekker fashion, Christian homily transmutes into sharp political comment. The poor tradesman has his livelihood removed in plague time through the locking up policy imposed, selectively, by the same authorities who, "perhaps", keep the suburb's whore-houses in business. The "strumpets" parade themselves for all to see, unchallenged, it is suggested, by those who should be shutting them up: the "Counstables, Churchwardens, Bayliffes, Beadels and other Officers Pillors and Pillowes

to all the villanies" (sig.H1r). "Pillors and Pillowes" implies that these authorities do more than merely countenance the trade. The whores are portrayed as walking vessels of disease who traverse the suburb-City boundary virtually unimpeded; hence the venereal plague associated with prostitution is "worse" in its potential to contaminate the "Citty" (and by implication its well-to-do inhabitants) than bubonic plague--the latter being the infection which by 1609 was increasingly located in suburban poverty.

The alleged hypocrisy of London's rulers and law-enforcers is exposed by such tactics but the voice of the pamphlet is in danger of sounding like a prostitute-phobic berater of women. Was Dekker, himself, of this temperament, as Germaine Greer implied in The Female Eunuch by associating him with a translation of a French "misogynist's account" of marriage?² From a cursory reading of his works it would be easy to fall into this misapprehension; his persona continues:

What a wretched wombe hath a strumpet, which being (for the most part) barren of Children, is notwithstanding the onely Bedde that breedes up these serpents? ... Shee is the Cockatrice that hatcheth all these egges of evills. When the Divell takes the Anatomy of al damnable sinnes, he lookes onely upon her body. When she dies ... When her soule comes to hell, all shunne that there, as they flie from a body struck with the plague here. She hath her dore-keeper, and she herselfe is the Divells chamber-maide ... (sig.H1r-H1v)

The "serpents" alluded to are the sinners of the suburbs defined in the previous paragraph as cheaters, panders and harlots. In fact this passage prompts the reader to ask how

a race of near-sterile (through their Pox-infection) prostitutes could possibly give birth to all the vices of the suburbs they are charged with in the contemporary moralistic, anti-woman discourses which Dekker is imitating here. In their too persistent one-sidedness ("she herself"), the repetition of negatives surrounding the female body should make us suspicious, hinting as they do at the ironic, parodic nature of this passage. Ultimately, this polemic encourages the reader to ask who the prostitute's partner(s) in sin might be--it takes two, a he as well as a she, to support the vice of prostitution. Indeed, the moralist anatomist, construed suggestively as the "Divell", looking "onely upon her body", is implicated in the "damnable sinnes" he "takes the Anatomy of": male hypocrisy is, again, the main target of this satire.

The type of discourse Dekker was seeking to evoke was not limited to city legislators' and moralists' tracts: John Lyly's Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit (1579) seems to have been among the earliest in a late sixteenth-century literary fashion which engaged obsessively with woman-censoring and woman-adoring rhetoric, constructing females as binary opposites of harlots, devils, serpents, medusa's, cockatrices on the one hand; and angels, virgins and saints on the other.³ This is, for example, Lyly's upper-class whore in "Euphues to Philautus":

Take from them their periwigges, their paintings,
 their jewells, their rolles, their bouldsteringes, and
 thou shalt perceive that a woman is the least part of
 her selfe. When they be once robbed of their roabes,
 then will they apeare so odious, so uglie, so

monstrous, that thou wilt rather think them Serpents
than Saintes, and so like haggas ...

4

The corruption beneath the seductive exterior is a common motif which recalls Ulrich Von Hutten's construction of polluting women in relation to venereal disease. Indeed, before long syphilis found its way into these voguish literary pronouncements on the concealed dangers of the female body, as in Stephen Gosson's tract provocatively entitled Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, Or a Glasse to View the Pride of Vainglorious Women (1595):

These Holland smockes so white as snow,
and gorgets brave with drawn work wrought:
A tempting ware they are you know,
werewith (as nets) vaine youth are caught.
But manie times they rew the match
When poxe and pyles by whores they catch.

5

The "deceitful Venus" type of French and Italian belletristic verse has clearly, by 1595, made her debut on the English scene. Barnaby Rich's The Excellency of Good Women (1613)--"The infallible markes whereby to know them"--provides another, though later, example of the type of unashamedly male-centred rhetoric Dekker's passage was parodying:

6

... shee must have modesty, bashfullnes, silence,
abstinence, sobrietie: she must be tractable to her
husband ... Shee must not bee a vaine talker Shee
overseeth ... Shee must be...

7

Dekker's tract forces the reader to confront the arrogance and hypocrisy inherent in such rhetorical play but which formed the propaganda basis, too, for the much more harmful scapegoating mechanisms and punitive treatments of prostitutes. From the late 1570s (interestingly, the same period as William Clowes was

targeting London's poor as its Pox-spreading criminals and⁸ calling for tougher measures to control them), the Bridewell authorities had tried to crack down on commercial sex in the capital without too much obvious success. In 1602 Samuel Rowlands was able to claim that "there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than ever there were before the Marshall was appointed".⁹ The Bridewell records reveal that they had, however, succeeded in identifying a profile of brothel clients which implicated the well-to-do in London's vice racket: members of the foreign merchant community, the staffs of the embassies, gentlemen of the Inns of Court and prominent citizens, all featured on their lists.¹⁰ Nevertheless, in the early years of the seventeenth century Lord Chief Justice Popham launched a particularly one-sided vindictive campaign against poor prostitutes, insisting on the building of houses of correction: his hostility to them earned him a reputation for the persecution of "poor pretty wenches out of all pity and mercy".¹¹

Apparently intent on redressing the balance by deflecting some of this blame back where he felt it belonged, Dekker implicated the wealthy City-dwelling "landlords" of the brothels in London's vice network. The voice of Lanthorne and Candle-light remonstrates:

Is not the Land-lord of such rentes the Ground-Bawde
 ... sithence hee takes twenty pounds rent every yeare,
 for a vaulting schoole And that twenty pound
 rent, hee knowes must bee prest out of petticoates;
 his money smells of sin: the very silver lookes pale,
 because it was earned by lust. (sig.H1r)

Furthermore, the tract maintains that the "ranckest" whores are "purged" out of the suburbs "and (as a cleere streame) ... let into the Citty" (sig.H1v). Prostitution in the City goes under a different, hypocritical guise: the "Puritane", the lieutenant's or captain's wife, lodging in places like a scrivener's house so that "all commers may enter, without the danger of any eyes to watch them" (sig.H1v). Her clients are the City residents, from gallants and merchants, to "Apron-men" and shopkeepers (sig.H2r). Here, not among the slums of the suburbs, the worst ("ranckest") vice and infection is bred, this discourse forcefully argues, subverting the moralists' claims that the suburbs were exclusively London's "sink of sin".¹² Having, therefore, commenced by deploying a common motif from elite discourse--"the infection of the suburbs"--Dekker proceeded to disentangle its disease elements (syphilis and bubonic plague), separating out venereal disease and the stigma and blame associated with it and re-locating it back within the City walls with the luxurious types amongst whom, his tract suggests, this "infection" was primarily bred and maintained. Indeed, its allegations may have been well founded: The Bridewell Court Books confirm that there were considerable numbers of bawdy establishments operating within the City's jurisdiction, enough, certainly, to lend substance to such claims.¹³ This phenomenon gave some of Dekker's fellow Londoners cause for concern, too; indeed, as early as 1549 responding to three consecutive ineffective Tudor attempts to close the brothels (1545,

1546 and 1547) the Protestant divine, Hugh Latimer,
complained to the Court:

... God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of
London; yea, the Bank, when it stood, was never so
common! It is wonderful that the city of London
doth suffer such whoredom unpunished.... There is some
place in London, as they say, "Immunity, impunity:"
what should I call it? A privileged place for
whoredom.... there is no reformation in it.

14

Dekker gave colourful and pointed expression to the
phenomenon in yet another pamphlet, Newes from Hell (1606):

Bawdes ... now sit no longer upon the skirtes of the
Cittie, but jett up and downe, even in the cloake of
the Cittie, and give more rent for a house, than the
proudest London occupier of them all.

15

Although no doubt constituting rather an exaggerated
rendering of the situation, such constructions forcefully
lashed out at the "cloake" of hypocrisy shrouding London's
vice problem.

In a much later pamphlet, Dekker His Dreame (1620), the
writer's edifying underworld dream vision yielded a vivid
caricature of the male hypocrite-lecher, versed in clever
but dubious rhetoric aimed at deflecting blame for sinful
behaviour. Wandering in hell, the dreamer comes across a
soul "boyling in Sulphurous flame" cursing God and railing
against divine "Injustice":

16

For all the taste of Pleasures I did feele,
Was in the warme Embracements of my Whore:
If that were Sin, why then did Nature store
My Veines with hot bloud, blowing lustfull fire?
"Twas her Corruption, and not my Desire". (f.34v)

Try as he might, using insidious and warped arguments, to
shift responsibility for his conduct onto "Nature", his
"whore", and ultimately onto God, the hellish punishments
being meted out to the lecher confirm his "corruption", his

lustful "desire". Indeed, Dekker's colourful portrayal of a fallen lecher-rhetorician anticipates Milton's Satan of Paradise Lost.

Whilst not exonerating prostitutes, Dekker's pamphlets consistently sought to deflect some of the responsibility for their sin back onto their male accomplices ("Pilllores") and customers--those "fallen" types whose greed for money and/or sexual gratification supported prostitution, commodifying and exploiting the female body. In contradistinction to his representation of the plague, though, the perceived sinners associated with the venereal Pox were not merely the uncharitable wealthy: the implicated social range encompassed constables and apron-men as well as rich merchants, united by their gender, their lechery, and their involvement in the corruption of the less powerful female body. Whilst the bubonic plague, conceived as a scourge of God, was visited on whole communities and mostly on those who lacked the resources to "flee", syphilis much more effectively targeted those perceived as the perpetrators of sin, making it a wonderful disease for appropriation by the satirist. Like the plague, though, the Pox was deployed to articulate and expose power relations construed as exploitative; the politics of syphilis in the first decade of the seventeenth century being, first and foremost, those of gender.

(ii) Dramatic deployments of the Pox in Dekker's "The Honest Whore, Part 1 and Part 2". (hereafter 1 Honest Whore and 2 Honest Whore)

"That cunning Bawd, (Necessity) night and day/ Plots to
undo me"
(2.IV.i.135-6)

In the early part of 1604, on behalf of Prince Henry's Company, Henslowe paid 5 to "Thomas deckers & Midelton in earneste of ther playe Called the pasyent man & the onest¹⁷ hore". Critics argue about the extent of the collaboration, but there is general agreement that Dekker had the biggest hand in 1 Honest Whore and that Middleton had very little to do with 2 Honest Whore, which was probably performed a year after the first play, in 1605. It is felt that the honest man character, Candido, in what in both cases was a double-plotted play, was Middleton's most important contribution.¹⁸ Although the second play was not published until 1630, 1 Honest Whore appeared in print in 1604 with Dekker's name alone on the title-page; another quarto edition was published in the same year. This suggests that the first play met with success, sufficient to warrant it being quickly followed up by both a sequel and the marketing of a playtext. One of these quartos was re-issued in 1605 and there were further editions in 1615,¹⁹ 1616 and 1635.

The appeal of 1 Honest Whore as a reading text is interesting because the first play appears less tightly structured and accomplished as a dramatic entity than the

second, yet the latter had to wait twenty-five years for publication (1630). There could be many reasons for the success of the 1604 quarto but the fact that it contained a recognizable, if heavily adapted, rendition of elements of Erasmus's popular The Young Man and the Harlot may have had a considerable bearing on it. One early Jacobean translator of this colloquy prefaced his selection with:

Good wine needes no Ivy bush, and ERASMUS, hath no need of my commendations. To the learned and judicious, yea generally to all men, he is wel knowne for his deepe learning and profound judgement: that for the entertainment of these his conferences, I needed not but only to have said ERASMUS wrote them.

20

This implies that Erasmus's name assured quality and almost guaranteed market success--his creations needed no "bush". Since Thomas Dekker's livelihood depended on the entertainment value of his plays and the popularity of his pamphlets, he would have been quick to recognize not only the dramatic potentialities of the Colloquies but also the bonus of having Erasmus's charismatic, marketable name associated, however loosely, with his work. Furthermore, this famous humanist's "profound judgement" could be invoked to justify the inclusion in the play of a brothel scene replete with bawdy innuendo and extensive venereal disease discussion. In his introduction to 1 Honest Whore, Cyrus Hoy points out how scholars had recently (1980) "remarked on the possibility of Dekker's role in introducing to the stage what an older generation of scholars termed 'questionable scenes'"; this particularly referred to II.i. of 1 Honest Whore--the penitent harlot scene, termed by Hoy, Dekker's "droll idea".²¹ Harnessing,

as it did, Christian hagiographic (the harlot becomes a Mary Magdalene-type) as well as Erasmian authority, Dekker's first extensive brothel scene would not, however, have seemed quite so "questionable" or so "droll" to a Jacobean audience. If the Colloquies' earthy themes and language were suitable for Christian schoolboys, why not for adult playgoers? It is probable, then, that Erasmus's "godly", pedagogic dialogues played no negligible role in encouraging a vogue for bawdy city comedy, and permitting extensive allusions to syphilis, on the Jacobean stage.

This is not to imply that Dekker's evocations of Erasmus's dialogue were mercenary: undoubtedly he sought here, as in his other works and like Erasmus and the Reformation dramatists, to combine comedy and enjoyment (and hence crucially for Dekker, material profit) with social and religious propaganda. Following Erasmus's lead, he drew on and extended the health education potential of the brothel locus at the same time as developing his penitent harlot, Bellafront, into a Mary Magdalene idealized-type to illustrate Christian repentance and to exemplify female godly behaviour under extreme duress. Erasmus's dialogue was really just a starting point and authorization for Dekker's own pedagogic endeavours. Whereas Erasmus's edifying themes were constructed with an elite male readership, and the concerns of the European nobility and religious reform, very much to the fore, Dekker's net was cast rather lower: his messages targeted the citizens of what was, by the early seventeenth century,

a predominantly Protestant London. Interestingly, given his militant Protestant concerns, he jettisoned the anti-Rome propaganda contained in The Young Man and the Harlot, building instead on the germ of a theme found there, foregrounding and reiterating the health and subsistence worries of Milan's (London's) poor women sometimes driven to prostitution to survive: with its Bedlam and Bridewell, the correspondence between this Milan and Jacobean London is apparent. Toward's the end of 2 Honest Whore Bellafront poignantly expresses the misery attendant on her own past tragic predicament:

Oh, when the work of Lust had earn'd my bread,
To taste it, how I trembled, lest each bit,
Ere it went downe, should choake me (chewing it?).
(2.IV.i.353-56)

The analogy between consuming and prostitution ("You eat, but to supply your blood with sin" 1.II.i.366) is sustained throughout both parts of The Honest Whore highlighting its particular political concern--the relationship between poverty, prostitution and "infection"--but also, through incorporating frequent references to apples and fruit, pointing to its religious and moral preoccupations--fallen sexuality and corrupt appetites. It is a mark of this dramatist's skill that his play could encompass a tonal range from extreme pathos as captured in the above speech, through comedy to farce. As in his pamphlets, Dekker's drama engages with life's tragic possibilities rendering them bearable, though not escapable, through laughter: the product is comedy with extremely serious designs.

The Honest Whore dramatizes an "adulterous bawdy world" (1.I.i.115) where, "Like Almanackes (whose dates are gone)" (2.IV.i.388), women's bodies are discarded ("throwne by") and replaced subject to the whims and tastes of male consumers. The commodification of sex and womanhood is emphasized through a web of allusion and analogy likening the female body to materials ("A skin, your satten is not more soft, nor lawne whiter" 1.II.i.172), land ("keepe the foresaid Land, out of the foresaid Lords fingers" 2.III.i.39-40) and food ("I have a Punck after supper, as good as a rosted Apple" 1.III.i.17). The luxurious preoccupations of the spendthrift males are juxtaposed and contrasted with the "necessity" worries of the women: whilst the epitome of the profligate male, Matheo (evocative of Plato's "Unjust Man"),²² frenziedly seeks pleasure and culinary delicacies, his wife's interests--after her moral reformation--are purely subsistence ones. Indeed, Matheo and his libertine acquaintances are characterized--like Lewis Wager's Infidelitie--by their excessive "appetites" and, according to the surgeon William Clowes, such intemperate types, if afflicted with the Pox (as just desserts), were unworthy of the surgeon's assistance: "Such as are great eaters and drinkers and inordinate users of women are unfit to be cured" (sig.C5v). The two parts of The Honest Whore present the root cause of the prostitution problem (and hence of the spread of syphilis) as the paucity of godliness amongst Milanese (and by implication London) gentlemen and, most importantly,

their consequent deficient or perverted husbandry of women.

The young nobleman, Hippolito, who converts Bellafront in the brothel has been misconstrued by some modern critics as exemplifying virtue, honest behaviour or godly manhood--a godliness which then goes horribly wrong in 2 Honest Whore when he seeks to corrupt virtue enshrined in the penitent harlot, Bellafront.²³ Dekker is accused of inconsistencies which are of the critics' own making: a comparison--which the Jacobean audience might more readily have made--of Hippolito's management of the harlot's conversion with that of Erasmus's Sophronius, highlights the Jacobean young man's moral and religious deficiencies.

With the Duke's daughter, Infelice, on whom Hippolito had set his heart, apparently dead and freshly buried, the audience is introduced to the young nobleman professing his grief and his intention to shun worldliness, devoting himself, instead, to meditation on "Infaelices end" (1.I.i.126). We find out later that this seeming godly devotion actually consists in his idolatrous worshipping of her sensuous image adorning a "painted board" in his closet (1.IV.i.46), alongside the more conventional meditation on a skull. Hippolito's servant draws the audience's attention to this impropriety by alluding bawdily to the portrait of Infelice as a "punk" and himself as a "bawd" keeping the door of his master's chamber. However, prior to this spectacle, Hippolito's lecherous friends lure him into a brothel where his new sense of morality undergoes its first test, confronted by the beautiful courtesan, Bellafront.

Bellafront invites his attentions (and thus his custom) which Hippolito dallyingly declines claiming if she were his, "he could brooke no sharers" (1.II.i.261); he would be "pleasures usurer" (1.II.i.263).²⁴ Much to Hippolito's surprise, Bellafront falls in love with this idea professing loyalty to any "kind gentleman" who would "have purchacde sin alone, to himselfe/ For his own private use" (1.II.i.269-70). Apparently the young man has confused the prostitute's "necessity" interests with his own carnal desires projected onto her body which, his language reveals, is for him just another commodity, to be bought or left as his whims dictate. He protests that she must be feigning; that she would "abuse" that kind man's "coyne" and "shew him a french trick"--the Pox:

And so you leave him, that a coach may run
 Betweene his legs for bredth. (1.II.i.307-308)

Thus he trots out the familiar male line redolent with anxiety about infection emanating, spitefully, from seductive, loose women, causing male impotence and bodily decay. This allusion to the French disease appears to trigger an idea which will encourage his chastity, steering him away from dangerous flirtatious territory onto safer ground: he will pass his time by testing his rhetorical skills on the conversion of this "harlot"--he will imitate the worthy endeavours of the type of morally reformed gentleman epitomized in Erasmus's Sophronius.

He begins arrogantly and self-consciously, without Sophronius's spontaneity: "What! shall I teach you how to loath your selfe?/ And mildly too, not without sense or

reason" (1.II.i.316-317). His subsequent display of persuasive pedagogic rhetoric reverberates with echoes and structural elements from Erasmus's dialogue. Reminding Bellafront of heaven and the soul which she has "sold for halfe-a-crowne" (1.II.i.324), he then evokes Erasmus's
²⁵
 "common Gonge" (common sewer or privy), filth/sin motif which Nashe had also deployed in Christe's Teares over Jerusalem. If a modern translation of Erasmus's version is compared to Nashe's and Dekker's, the similarities are clear:

... and you make yourself a public sewer that every Tom, Dick, and Harry--the dirty, the vile, the diseased--resorts to and empties his filth into! If you haven't yet caught the new contagion called the Spanish pox, you can't long escape it. (The Young Man and the Harlot, Thompson, p.156)

Nashe's persona railed: "What are you but sincks and privies to swallow in mens filth?" (f.78v), and Dekker's Hippolito urges:

... for your body,
 Is like the common shoare, that still receives
 All the townes filth. The sin of many men
 Is within you ... (1.II.i.324-27)

Sophronius's next step had been to warn Lucrecia of the physical disease that this male "corruption" would inflict on her; here, Hippolito diverges from the Erasmian model, exclaiming "Nay, shall I urge it more" (331), and accusing Bellafront and her harlot acquaintances, in a lengthy volley of abuse, of maiming and dismembering men, of lust and murder:

... there has bene knowne,
 As many by one harlot, maym'd and dismembred,
 As would ha stuff an Hospitall: (1.II.i.331-33)

Images of fruit, of trees ("A tree being often shooke, what fruit can knit?" 351), of the devil and damnation recall the Fall and the curse Eve's intemperate appetite inflicted on man kind. In short, Hippolito has lost his godly path of "sense and reason" and has digressed once more into Jacobean misogynist territory, his rhetoric being shaped primarily, again, by fears about male safety in the face of female temptresses--malevolent, alluring women.²⁶

Bellafront's tragic cry--"O me unhappy!" (352)--recalls him to his ostensible conversion task, so having threatened, "I can vexe you more" (353), he proceeds to gloat over the horrible fate that foreign polluters generally, but the "French" client in particular, will eventually bestow on her:

... he sticks to you, faith: gives you your diet,
Brings you acquainted, first with monsieur Doctor
And then you know what follows. (1.II.i.355-57)

Bellafront poignantly responds: "Misery/ Rank, stinking, and most loathsome misery" (359). She thus acknowledges that if she continues her life as a courtesan she will eventually contract the French disease. Hippolito proceeds with a list of further detractions from the harlot's trade, roughly following the pattern of Sophronius's argument with a hint, perhaps, of Henryson's influence such as when he warns her of impending defamation and beggary. A very Jacobean touch concludes his lesson when he alludes to the "warrants, whips, and Beadles" (415) which she must nightly fear; Sophronius had warned Lucrecia in much looser terms of the "continuall watching" that she would be "faine to

sustain" if she remained in that troubled place (p.350). Hippolito's instruction has been far from "mild", as he promised at the outset; unlike Sophronius's it is lacking in human warmth and has a vindictive edge. He succeeds in converting the harlot but he offers her no alternative means of survival. Where the sincere Sophronius had put money, advice, new lodging and a dowry at Lucrecia's disposal, Hippolito callously walks away shouting "Would all the Harlots in the towne had heard me" (1.II.i.426), and leaving a suicidal Bellafront to her own devices. Although Hippolito had not personally contributed to Bellafront's fall as Sophronius had with respect to Lucrecia, his response to her distress is casual in the extreme and culpably uncharitable; in essence, he has merely filled in some spare time, amused himself whilst waiting for his friends, by practising his rhetorical flourishes. Hippolito has certainly not behaved as a godly young gentleman should. Indeed, it is quite in keeping with this that in 2 Honest Whore Lord Hippolito, "whose face is as civill as the outside of a Dedicatory Booke", proves himself to be a "Muttonmunger" (2.II.i.254-55).

The conversion scene is replete with Pox images: the French disease is figured as a physical corruption of the blood transmitted through coitus, analogous to the moral corruption, lust, which taints the blood and soul with "poison". The allusions to the Fall link the disease closely to original sin evoking John Calvin's pronouncements on "the corrupt appetites of the soule" and

the disease of "infidelitie". Both the religious (unbelief) and relationship (unfaithfulness) meanings of infidelity circulate in Dekker's conversion scene: Bellafront longs to be "loyal" to one man only whilst Hippolito upbraids her unmercilessly for being willing to "hire" her body out to the "fruitless riot" of Moors, Tartars, Jews and Turks. Sexual fidelity is thus construed here, as in Wager's Interlude, as indivisible from loyalty to the Christian faith.²⁷

The conversion scene over, we might expect the sustained Pox references in The Honest Whore to dissipate into mere expletives but the reformed Bellafront appears to have a mission--she is intent on getting her moral and physical "health" message across, first targeting bawds, then the prostitute's clients and always, of course, the audience. Dekker seems to have shared Erasmus's desire to disseminate information about the disease's transmission and effects in order to inculcate a "safeguarding of chastity" or perhaps, less magnanimously, to intensify fears about loose sexual activity among his contemporaries. Indeed, if there were as many whores, bawds and potential brothel customers among the playgoers as Jacobean accounts suggest, Dekker had an ideal audience for his propaganda.²⁸ Bellafront confronts Mistress Fingerlock, her former bawd who lives "Upon the dregs of Harlots" (I.3.ii.38), with her devilish powers of corruption:

O course devill!
 Thou art the bastard's curse, thou brandst his birth,
 The lechers French disease; for thou dry-suckst him:

The Harlots poyson, and thine owne confusion.
(1.III.ii.39-42)

The bawd, Bellafront rails, is ultimately responsible for her own, the illegitimate child's, the lecher's and the harlot's moral and physical contamination. She is figured simultaneously as a devil, a curse, the French disease itself and poison. Again, this evokes the Fall (and the Whore of Babylon, perhaps?): the bawd is a Satanic temptress, "our sexes monster", with destructive persuasive powers--she is "damnations Orator" (1.III.ii.30-31). The pander of the house, Roger, is conceived rather more as a "Knave" and a cheat and receives notably less harsh condemnation (1.III.ii.45).

To influence the young gentleman-lechers away from their sin, Bellafront self-consciously ("Let me perswade you to forsake all Harlots" 1.III.iii.49) deploys her considerable rhetorical skills for godly purpose. Harlots, she declares, are "Worse then the deadliest poysons" (1.III.iii.50); their souls are cursed; they are slaves, who, "stead of children ... breed ranke diseases" (1.III.iii.57). She secures the gentlemen's attention by adopting the familiar abusive stance against prostitutes; then, suddenly deflecting blame back onto the "Gallants", she implicates them in the transmission of the Pox. They bestow "that French Infant" on harlots (1.III.iii.59): the gentleman victims become equal polluters with the whore. Finally she attacks the lecher's short-sighted folly and suggests the tragic outcome of continued whoring:

What shallow sonne and heire then, foolish gallant,
Would waste all his inheritance, to purchase
A filthy loathd disease? and pawne his body
To a dry evill: that usurie's worst of all,
When th'interest will eate out the principall.
(1.III.iii.60-64)

Financial, bodily and spiritual ruin are the rewards of lechery. The whorer is consumed by both his sin--his corrupt appetites--and his venereal disease; his inheritance is similarly eaten away by his luxurious and debased life style. The homiletic tone and language recall the parable of the Prodigal son (Luke 15.11-32).

Bellafront's analysis of this particular "disease" does not stop here; whilst her ex-clients, ranckled by her admonition, abuse her, employing familiar woman-berating forms ("There's more deceit in women, than in hel" 1.III.iii.86), she rounds on Matheo, relocating the blame for her own fall from grace in him, her first seducer: "you brake the Ice,/ Which after turnd a puddle" (1.III.iii.96). Her argument reaches a crescendo as she broadens her net to include all "gallants"--"you love to make us lewd, but never chaste" (1.III.iii.120)--but her parting shot is reserved for Matheo who has refused to make amends by marrying her:

Thy lust and sin speake so much: go thou my ruine,
The first fall my soule tooke; by my example
I hope few maydens now will put their heads
Under mens girdels. (1.III.iii.123-126)

Her "ruine" is to serve as a warning to "maydens" not to succumb to "gentleman" tempters. The reformed harlot proves herself a consummate rhetorician; in the course of her speeches she has appropriated the terms of misogynist

rhetoric and redeployed them to re-situate the primary blame for pollution--moral and physical--on male corrupters: the French disease is both a symbol of original sin and fallen sexuality, and the punishment for the latter's prime manifestation--lechery.

In 2 Honest Whore another wronged woman, Infelice, manages to score a strategic and rhetorical victory over her male abuser--her husband, Hippolito. Having been exposed by his wife as a lecher and hypocrite, Hippolito has the rhetorical table turned on him: recasting Hippolito's negative constructions of women as "tempting devils" who should be "men's bliss" but "prove their rods", Infelice's speech constitutes a satisfying verbal and gender triumph:

O Men
You were created Angels, pure and faire,
But since the first fell, worse than Devils you are.
You should our shields be, but you prove our rods.
Were there no Men, Women might live like
gods.(2.III.i.186-90)

In 2 Honest Whore the young gallants are represented as profligate cads who prostitute women's bodies to satisfy their corrupt appetites. Hippolito sets his sights on the perversion of Bellafront's now saint-like virtue, viewing her poverty and his contrasting wealth as, in Bellafront's construction, "baite to choake a Nun, and turne her whore" (2.II.i.238). In Part 1 Hippolito deployed his persuasive rhetorical powers to convert a whore; in Part 2, boasting to Bellafront that with "one parlee/ I won you to come in" (2.IV.i.245-246) he tries "With the same ordnance" (248), "By force of strong persuasion," to "beat down this

Chastity" (2.IV.i.249) Addressing the audience Hippolito encourages the male spectators to support him in his declamatory game, the purpose of which is perversion. Bellafront's angelic powers of persuasion prove, however, more than a match for Hippolito's devilish rhetoric: virtue and the female gender score a minor triumph on the stage.

What is going on here? Is Dekker a proto-feminist?: The Honest Whore dramatises a series of antagonistic engagements between the sexes in which female intelligence and articulacy triumph repeatedly over male shallowness and warped reasoning--at least in the two main plots of both parts. The two secondary plots, however, function to modify this attractive image of strong, rational and verbally competent women; an image which is modified anyway by the "women" being male actors. The two shrewish female types depicted in the sub-plots certainly prove "rods" to their patient husband: the action descends to farce as the waspish wives set about abusing their too-gentle husband; yet the women desire to be mastered, controlled by their spouse whose ineffective husbandry encourages their discontentment and shrewish exploits. The patient man's second wife is finally tamed by his taking a literal rod to her; falling to her knees in a gesture of submission she capitulates gratefully, declaring:

Beholde, I am such a cunning Fencer growne,
I keepe my ground, yet downe I will be throwne
With the least blow you give me, I disdaine
The wife that is her husbands Soveraigne.
(2.II.ii.106-109)

This is a play primarily about bad husbandry which

causes women to get out of hand--to turn shrews or
29
whores. In the process of depicting the type of fallen
male behaviour which gives rise to prostitution and
"disease" Dekker has done service to the female gender by
allowing them an intelligent, if rather stylized,
mouthpiece in Bellafront and briefly in Infelice.
Bellafront's forgiving father, Orlando, functions as the
model and authoritative guide to sound godly husbandry in
the second part of The Honest Whore. He charitably forgives
and resumes responsibility for his prodigal daughter's
needs when her husband proves deficient; it is he who
recasts the Milanese gentlemen as infidels: "He's a Turke
that makes any woman a Whore, hee's no true Christian I'm
sure" (2.IV.ii.21-22). Prostituting a woman's body is
incompatible with the "true" faith. In this Protestant play
female independence and spirit is ultimately represented as
requiring, and desiring, restraint and containment: whilst
unfair treatment of dependent women is not condoned, female
forgiveness and submission to male rule is applauded. The
much abused Bellafront has the last word on this:

Oh yes, good sir, women shall learne of me,
To love their husbands in greatest misery;
Then shew him pittie or you wracke my selfe.
(2.V.ii.468-70)

Apparently devoid of irony, Bellafront's clichéd plea for
tolerance towards cruel, profligate husbands sounds
perverse to modern ears and is best understood as a
Christian, saintly utterance emerging somewhat uneasily
into the far from idealized Jacobean context which the play

depicts. The effect of this speech is inevitably mediated by what the play has shown and by audience expectations: the fact that the spectators have seen Bellafront cast into Bridewell and punished unfairly for Hippolito's lust and her husband's treachery must have given even its original audiences considerable pause for thought about London's distinctly one-sided and unfair approach to the management of its vice problem; beyond this, however, it is likely that Bellafront's conventional expressions of female humility and patience would have met with considerable approval. Staged presentations of cruelty and male depravity undoubtedly functioned to some degree, however, to undermine patriarchal pretensions.

In a manner not unusual for its time, The Honest Whore powerfully dramatizes the exploitation of one sex by the other and portrays men as monsters and devils in the process, whilst simultaneously striving to reinforce the patriarchal gender hierarchy which maintained, even sanctioned, such abuses of power. Indeed, ambivalence and apparent contradiction are the hallmarks of much gender-preoccupied Jacobean drama, and are indicative of similar contradictions (between ideology and practice), and of tensions surrounding gender relations, within the originating culture.³⁰

(iii) Syphilis, debating sex, and sexual frisson.

In order to amplify my exploration and analysis of Jacobean representations of syphilis, some sense of the

wider contexts of the gender debate is, I feel, essential at this juncture. Before leaving The Honest Whore, I should like, therefore, to consider further some of the politico-generic implications of deployments of the Pox by looking closely at two forms present in these plays, and which recur constantly in Jacobean writing in relation to syphilis: the Genesis story and Roman 'declamation'. This analysis will be illustrated and strengthened by the inclusion of examples from other Jacobean texts.

Genesis and gender relations: disease in Eden.

"'Twas her Corruption, and not my Desire"
(Dekker His Dreame f.34v)

The nexus of religious, moral, social and medical meanings of syphilis converged, in the Jacobean period, around re-configurations of the Fall. Who tempted whom? Who was most culpable? As in the original Genesis story Adam and Eve sought to locate blame for their sin outside themselves (Eve blamed the serpent--"The serpent beguiled me and I did eat" 3.13--and Adam blamed Eve--"she gave me of the tree, and I did eat" 3.12), so early modern men and women appear to have become entangled in a dispute about relative responsibility for the Fall and subsequent "infection". These concerns were articulated through images of poison and corruption, of serpents, devils, trees, apples and appetite. One of syphilis's medical consequences, reduced fertility, horrifically negated God's first command to "Be fruitful, and multiply", and thus

provided evidence of significant disorder in the world: nature perverted through man's or woman's (depending on your perspective) intemperate sexuality. Furthermore, it was the disease which, in its congenital manifestation, mysteriously, and in the manner of original sin, visited the sins of the parents on the children. In the early seventeenth century, the commonest configuration of the Fall story was inevitably of a weaker Eve, readily succumbing to sin and then corrupting Adam with her beguiling ways: this dominant cultural model, allied to the tainting Venuses discussed earlier, could be used to justify harsh measures for the control of female sexuality and the subjugation of women generally.

Francis Quarles's emblem No. 88 is a good example of such a "patriarchal" configuration of the Genesis myth.³¹ The emblem depicts a rather coquettish-looking Eve in Paradise approaching the serpent-entwined apple tree. The accompanying poem is in the form of a dialogue between the rhetorically-competent serpent and wanton, irresponsible Eve. In the serpent's description of the "tempting" apples there is a classic representation of the foppish male syphilitic, of the type elsewhere depicted "crouching in the hams":

Observe how they do crouch
To kisse thy hand: Coy woman, Do but touch:
Mark what a pure Vermilian blush has dy'd
Their swelling Cheeks, and how, for shame, they hide
Their palsie heads, to see themselves stand by
Neglected. (p.261)

This evokes a host of similar representations including Ben Jonson's Sir Cod The Perfumed--the deviant, diseased,

submissive, often foreign, sub-male stereotype who reputedly haunted bawdy houses. The rotten apple status was alternatively projected onto women constructed as whores in male-authored discourse. It is significant that the objectionable "gallants" in The Honest Whore denigrate women by alluding to them as rotten fruit ("women are like medlars--(no sooner ripe but rotten)" 2.I.i.98). It comes as no surprise that by the end of Quarles's poem Eve has succumbed to the rather dubious temptation:

'Tis but an Apple; and it is as good
To do as I desire: Fruit's made for food:
Ile pull, and tast, and tempt my Adam too
To know the secrets of this dainty. (p.262)

The reader is left in no doubt that it is Eve who will be responsible for enticing, and then polluting, poor innocent Adam with her sinfully contracted disease. Indeed, the moralizing emblem books published in London in the 1630s and 1640s are full of such deceitful female types--Venuses and Eves--the Venuses frequently depicted with masks, suggesting the concealment of underlying corruption. George Wither's emblem No.73 is an example of the latter type.³²

As we have seen already in relation to Dekker's The Honest Whore, this configuration of the Genesis myth did not go unchallenged. In Dekker's two plays it is undeniably gentlemen who, in Bellafront's words, "inchaunt silly women to take falls" (2.IV.i.314): the gallants merge with the serpent assuming the role of satanic rhetoricians in a fallen, bawdy world. In a later Jacobean play which employs a great deal of syphilis imagery and allusion, John

Webster's The White Devil (1612), another rather satanic rhetorician, the Cardinal Monticelso, deploys a heavily misogynist construction of the myth in a horrifying and successful bid to convict Vittoria of harlotry and have her imprisoned in a house of correction. He construes his victim as a rotten fruit with a "goodly" exterior:

You see my lords what goodly fruit she seems,
Yet like those apples travellers report
To grow where Sodom and Gomorrah stood
I will but touch her and you straight shall see
She'll fall to soot and ashes. (III.ii.63-67)

33

Concluding authoritatively:

I am resolved
Were there a second paradise to lose
This devil would betray it. (III.ii.67-69)

Monticelso and Francisco had earlier attempted to dampen Brachiano's desire for Vittoria--or curtail it through fear--by insinuating that she was Poxed, that she harboured "a sting", a "sharp whip", in her "adder's tail" (II.i)--like the image of Fraud in Dante's Inferno (Canto XVII). Rotten apples, barrenness, poison, stings, perfumes, corruption, deceit, disease and desire, condition the lost paradise of this playworld where black and white devils merge, confounding our attempts to separate them into the binary categories of good and evil articulated by the characters themselves. The play contains its own critique of misogynist rhetoric exposing those who most use it as hypocrites, schemers and murderers.

Male authors did sometimes, therefore, manipulate and configure the Genesis myth differently from the patriarchal norm; they also deployed it to undermine the convention not

only for ideological reasons, but also for aesthetic ones, which it will be the purpose of the last part of this chapter to explore. The Bible itself could support many versions of the Fall story because of its own internal contradictions: the Pauline epistles, for example, imply several times that Eve was sexually seduced, and that sin therefore came into the world through woman and not through man; yet Paul also identifies Adam as the source of sin and death. James Grantham Turner has provided a very full account of how the brief and comparatively arid details of Genesis were subsequently transformed by exegesis and commentators seeking to clarify the ideal sexual and power relations between the descendants of Adam and Eve.³⁴

Early Protestantism was undecided on the merits and role of woman: the two key sixteenth-century Protestant reformers construed the male-female relationship differently. Luther, like Augustine, assumed that woman was created for procreation only; he placed great emphasis on the first blessing and injunction "be fruitful and multiply" and insisted that the female fulfilled her original purpose only to the extent that she contributed to parenthood.³⁵ Calvin, by contrast, stressed the companionship of marriage and maintained that in one aspect at least--the politics or government of the household--³⁶ women were as spiritually gifted as men. Constructions of the female were, in fact, highly unstable in spite of attempts by some to simplify the problem of the other sex by construing them as types--virgins or whores. In the

early seventeenth century deployments of the Genesis myth were particularly copious not only in religious and moral writings but also in libertine literature, drama, and the "apology for woman" genre: all, it is likely, were participating in a reassessment of gender relations in which the complex engagement between rhetoric and material conditions was surely such as to defy any easy modern pronouncements on it. What can be safely said, is that women did emerge in this period--albeit in small numbers--with their own voice and constructing their own defences. My sense of the situation is that in their woman-denigrating outpourings some men--the real Hippolito's of early modern England--did protest too much; their abuse was possibly symptomatic of their fears about increasing female effectiveness and, as we have seen in relation to plague, anxiety about social instability appears to channel itself all too readily into a too insistent obsession with the other's disease-polluting potential.³⁷

Woman In Defence of Eve

But surely Adam cannot be excus'd,
Her fault, though great, yet he was most too blame;
What Weaknesse offerd, Strength might have refus'd,
Being Lord of all, the greater was his shame: (15-18)

Aemilia Lanyer's spirited defence of Eve in Salve deus rex Judaeorum (1611), like Isotta Nogarola's, is to a large extent premised on woman's "weaknesse" and, therefore, her lesser culpability.³⁸ Lanyer adopts the terms of patriarchal discourse in order to illustrate Adam's greater sin: man, as the stronger vessel, quite simply should have

known better, especially since he had not had to contend with the guile of "subtill serpents" (37). Interestingly, the terms of Lanyer's argument are not dissimilar to those presented several years earlier in the two parts of Dekker's The Honest Whore: Christian men must take more responsibility for their own sin.

Lanyer's poem does not incorporate disease imagery but the earliest-known prose "defence" thought to have been written by a woman--Jane Anger her Protection for Women (1589)--notably construes itself as a "protection" against the "disease" of the lover of Book: his Surfeit (a book which either never existed or is now lost).³⁹ Anger's satire is generally thought to be targeted at the loose and offensive anti-woman rhetoric emerging from the witty pens of men like John Lyly;⁴⁰ undoubtedly this is part of the tract's remit but, I would argue, a more pressing concern underlies Anger's anger: the threat posed to the physical "health" of women, by inconstant and "surfeiting" lovers. Such health and disease discourse can, of course, be construed as operating entirely on a moral plane but if we approach Anger's tract aware of how the language of venereal disease had penetrated the male rhetoric she is attacking, it is possible to detect another level of meaning. In the following passage riddles about pricks and stings have obvious sexual connotations which are yoked to "inconstancy" and the threat of being "plagued":

But men never leave stinging till they see the death
of honesty. The danger of pricks is shunned by
gathering roses glove-fisted; and the stinging of bees

prevented through a close hood. But naked dishonesty and bare inconstancy are always plagued through their own folly. (p.41)

Of course, we are free to assume that the plague for folly will be cuckoldry and "horns" as had been suggested earlier, but subsequent medical allusions ("a Sovereign Salve to Cure", "sweat") would probably have pointed the tract's original readers in the direction of another one--venereal disease consequent upon sexual "surfeit", "foolish love", and "inconstancy". In the manner of Dekker's *Bellafront*, Anger deflects the allegations about female disease inscribed in male libertine rhetoric, away from women, back onto sexually promiscuous men, whilst pointedly and meaningfully wishing "health" to "the Gentlewomen of
41
England".

Syphilis and the art of declamation.

They run so into rhetoric as oftentimes they overrun the bounds of their own wits, and go they know not whither. (Jane Anger Her Protection for Women, p.32)

If the two parts of The Honest Whore contain their own powerful critique of misogynist rhetoric, exposing those who espouse its terms as lecherous hypocrites, it has to be said that the dramatic success of these plays depends on their thoroughgoing engagement with it. The related bawdy exchanges, too, are a source of jokes and fun as well as a vehicle for social criticism. Indeed, The Honest Whore delights in, and draws attention to, its own consummate display of wit, whether vocalized by satanic declaimer or reformed whore. In spite of their pedagogic aspects, it is

easy to see how these bawdy city comedies might have played into the hands of the theatres' detractors such as John Northbrook who had remonstrated of "Vaine playes, or Enterludes" in 1577:

If you will learne howe to be false and deceyve your husbandes, or husbandes their wyves howe to playe the harlottes, to obtayne one's love, howe to ravishe, how to beguyle, ... how to allure to whoredome, how to murther shall not you learne, then, at such enterludes how to practise them?

42

There is a sense in which The Honest Whore gleefully fulfilled the critics' worst dreams in satisfying its audiences' sinful fantasies, giving the latter what they craved and were willing to pay for, with, of course, a certain moral and religious gloss: sexual excitement; underworld spectacle; farcical husband-and-wife strife; and, to satisfy the fashion for verbal wit, staged declamations persuading for and against seduction and prostitution--all within a Protestant framework.

43

When Hippolito turns to the audience in 2 Honest Whore to enlist male backing and approval for his intended enterprise--to corrupt a reformed harlot--he is drawing attention, in schoolboy-like manner, to his rather specious cleverness as well as containing it, and its evil implications, in its playworld context. Having gloated to Bellafront about his earlier successful exhibition of "strong perswasion" which resulted in her conversion, he canvases support from his macho well-wishers:

You men that are to fight in the same warre,
To which I'm prest, and pleade at the same barre,
To winne a woman, if you wud have me speed,
Send all your wishes. (2.IV.i.255-258)

In keeping with Hippolito's character, this qualifies as a rather immature male-bonding game implicating those who "wud have me speed" in a fantasy of rhetorical sin. The legalistic vocabulary hints at the origins of a declamatory art which, through its links with rape and brothel settings, with virgins, whores and debates about pollution, developed a curious affinity with syphilis in the early modern period.⁴⁴

Declamation had originally been intended to train Greek schoolboys for public life, in particular for arguing persuasively in the law-courts. 'Controversiae' were declamatory exercises based on highly improbable legal cases: the schoolteacher would propose the case which would involve stock characters in implausible situations (virgins in brothels, for example), and secondary-age scholars would give speeches of their own, arguing persuasively on one side or the other. This educational practice was assumed by the Romans and applauded and adopted centuries later by Renaissance humanists encountering the classical models in the form of the 'controversiae' of the elder Seneca and of Quintilian. Erasmus recommended these exercises in his De ratione studii and Vives, in On Education, commended the 'controversiae' to young scholars: "for in them very many arguments are keenly and shrewdly invented and gracefully⁴⁵ and charmingly expressed". The stock themes and characters of the 'controversiae' had been absorbed along the way into New Comedy: rich man, poor man, old man, prodigal son, forgiving father, pimp, harlot, pirates,

poisons, coincidences and sudden discoveries, were the substance and contrivances of declamatory exercises before⁴⁶ they informed romance and drama. Attention has recently been focused on the importance of the 'controversiae' as source material for the Jacobean stage but their significance as potential erotica is relatively new⁴⁷ critical territory. With their endless articulation of adultery, rape and sexually transgressive activity couched in curiously legalistic discourse and commended for schoolboy imitation, the 'controversiae' occupy an equivocal niche in patriarchal literature able to be appropriated and understood--rather in the manner of The Honest Whore--as both instructive texts and mild pornography.

To reduce The Honest Whore and other disease-rich Jacobean plays to the status of social documents enshrining religious, moral, social and medical meanings would be to ignore and shy away from the highly complex but important relationship between pleasure and disease. Staged dialogues about sex and persuading to it, or against it, carry an erotic charge which is only increased, I would argue, by⁴⁸ their venereal disease content. Desire accompanied by expressions of anxiety and danger circulating in the transgressive territory of a brothel, has significant erotic potential which can be harnessed or subdued by the production: when sexually-aware bodies take to the stage what they say may be less important than how they look and act and how the audience responds. It is, perhaps, fair to

speculate that the erotic potential of Dekker and Middleton's two plays would have been contained rather heavily by the overt moralizing and Protestant frame: the pathos and seriousness of Bellafront's responses in her Magdalene guise might, indeed, have functioned as a severe dampener to lust and terminated any prurient laughter in an embarrassed, chilled drizzle.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the plays offer the spectacle of a courtesan (a man in "drag") preparing herself for her customers; of the interior of a house of ill repute; of attempted seductions; of the inside of a Bridewell for the punishment of lewd women; of sexually-provocative bodies traversing the stage. These are titillating scripts of pleasure, danger and medico-moral politics--a compelling theatrical (or screen) combination in any age as the burgeoning of productions about Aids in our own testifies.

(iv) The dramatic function of syphilis in Shakespeare's Jacobean plays: disease, anxiety, and aesthetic empowerment.

The commercially profitable nature of this winning theatrical formula, which had initially begun to be registered--as Lewis Wager's defence of his Interlude attests--by the Edwardian dramatists and their critics, was certainly not lost on the most successful of the Jacobean playwrights, William Shakespeare.⁵⁰ Plots linking prostitutes, lechers, hypocrites, bawds, panders, brothels, disease, together with jokes and rhetoric about the sexual

act, its moral implications and its dangers, represented an attractive marketing proposition: undoubtedly four plays from Shakespeare's mature period which contain extensive allusions to, discussions about, and images of the Pox (Troilus and Cressida, Measure for Measure, Timon of Athens and Pericles) had their origins partly in this sound commercial insight. Furthermore, and in a creatively sustaining manner, the formula allowed for the more interesting and successful elements of the native morality tradition as developed by the Edwardian playwrights to be transformed and combined in an exciting and experimental way with the increasingly fashionable neoclassical forms, particularly those descended like the 'controversiae' from or through New Comedy.

Additionally, and importantly, a skilful playwright might attempt to harness the anxiety-producing aspects of disease--"the fear of collapse ... [which] contaminates the Western image of all diseases"--to deliver more than simply erotic pleasure.⁵¹ I would like to suggest that Shakespeare successfully achieved this form of aesthetic empowerment and, through a focused analysis of Measure for Measure and Pericles, to elucidate the dramatic mechanisms through which this was accomplished. I am proposing that there is a crucial, but as yet largely unexplored, relation between Stephen Greenblatt's notion of "social energy" ("the capacity to arouse disquiet, pain, fear, the beating of the heart, pity, laughter, tension, relief, wonder") and Sander Gilman's thesis that:

The fixed structures of art provide us with a sort of carnival during which we fantasize about our potential loss of control, perhaps even revel in the fear it generates within us an inherent tension exists between the world of art representing disorder, disease, and madness and the source of our anxiety about self-control.

52

"Measure for Measure" and the horror of "appetites" out of control.

As sophisticated satirical drama, Measure for Measure may initially seem to have more in common generically with Roman city comedy than with the English morality play but remnants and adaptations of the the mid-sixteenth-century native tradition survive here--as they do in The Honest Whore--in its characterization, themes and imagery. In order to explore the dramatic function of syphilis in this Jacobean play it is necessary to foreground these often neglected links with the Tudor past.

Whilst Measure for Measure's lecherous Lucio appears to be a development of personifications such as Nice Wanton's Iniquity, hypocritical Angelo--a type of "Moysaically Justice"--has much in common with Wager's Infidelitie. Both the latter are embodiments of diseased authority intent on seducing innocence, and both reflect repeatedly on the difference between their exterior appearance and their inner corruption. Metadramatic techniques constantly foreground this gap between seeming and being. Infidelitie's frequent change of "geare" provides a visual spectacle of the hypocrisy encoded in his lines: "For every

day I have a garment to weare,/ Accordyng to my worke and operation" (sig.E2r). Angelo's suggestively puritanical style of garb, his grave and "precise" demeanour, likewise serve to disguise the devil within. He soliloquises:

O place, O form,
How often dost thou with thy case, thy habit,
Wrench awe from fools, and tie the wiser souls
To thy false seeming. (II.iv.12-15)

On a similar note the Duke reflects: "O, what may man within him hide,/ Though angel on the outward side" (III.i.527-28).

In Measure for Measure anxieties about devils posing as angels and about distinguishing syphilitic bodies from wholesome ones pervade the playtext. Even the Duke, problematically--given early modern stereotypes of the disease--disguised as a friar, arouses suspicion: Lucio rails slanderously "you bald-pated lying rascal, you must be hooded, must you? Show your knave's visage, with a pox to you!" (V.i.349-51), implying that the friar conceals his disease beneath his hood. Indeed, Lecherous Lucio and his "gentlemen" friends constantly project their anxieties about contracting the Pox, or already having it, onto others. Their nervous bantering accusations in the second scene thinly camouflage their real concerns about their own health. The first gentleman playfully accuses Lucio of being "pilled, for a French velvet" (I.ii.34)--a pun on baldness and haemorrhoids, both the legacy of syphilis. Lucio retaliates, alleging there is "painful feeling" in his friend's speech so that "Whilst I live, [I shall] forget to drink after thee" (I.ii.38): he will no longer

share his friend's cup in order to avoid catching his disease.

Spiritual and physical corruption, figured as fornication and its disease legacy, syphilis, is rife in Vienna and, as the Duke tells Escalus, it is not confined to "the stew" (V.i.316). In this play, as in Timon of Athens, Troilus and Cressida and Dekker and Middleton's The Honest Whore, "appetites" are so out of control that bodies (spiritual, physical, social, national) are in danger of devouring themselves. Syphilis, the disease that appeared to gnaw away at, and rot the body from within, is an apposite image for this personally- and socially-destructive lack of self-government which in this play, as in Wager's Interlude, is also linked--though rather more loosely and obliquely--to religious infidelity: "Thy bones are hollow/ Impiety has made a feast of thee" (I.ii.54-55), the far from pious Lucio tells his friend. "Impiety" (OED2 [1] "lack of godliness") pointedly and revealingly stands in for lechery in Lucio's euphemistic construction. But, as the Duke's speeches shamefully reveal, the citizens of Vienna are unable adequately to govern their bodily appetites because the social body has not been effectively governed (I.iii). The Duke has failed to exert lawful rule, and his right-hand man and substitute, Angelo--the man who who from his exterior guise appears least corrupt--reveals himself to be the most culpable fornicator in Vienna. This religious hypocrite, like the "type" of his forerunner, Infidelitie, is the wolf in sheeps' clothing, the enemy

within and, if left concealed and unrestrained, he is the potential author of his community's complete spiritual and social destruction.

Measure For Measure depicts, and muses on, a society fearfully out of control--like a syphilitic body--through ineffective and tainted government. The audience is invited to observe and reflect on this anxiety-producing spectacle of horror: horror, which is pleasurably diffused through laughter, and contained sufficiently to permit enjoyment, by this being an "other" place, Vienna. Given syphilis's well-established literary and dramatic associations with the corruption of the Catholic Church it is no coincidence that this play's setting is:

... one of the capitals of the Holy Roman Empire, much in the news in the year 1604 as the traditional seat of the Hapsburg dynasty, the administrative hub of a vast and shifting Catholic alliance with which the English had been on hostile terms for decades.

53

In Measure For Measure, as in the Protestant Interludes, syphilis is emblematic of Catholic corruption. This disease, however, resides not in any single fornicating and unreformed individual but is widely diffused through the harlot body of this morally and spiritually degenerate city: a city which contains confessors, friars, and nunneries rather than Bedlams and Bridewells and where the young and spiritually pure, like Isabella, are abused and exploited by devilish authority-figures. The question of whether or not the Duke might be "tainted" (IV.iv.4) rumbles unsettlingly through the playtext threatening a veritable storm of corruption: it is significant that in

John Bale's overtly anti-Catholic play, The Temptation of Our Lord, Satan's chosen disguise was, like Dr. Faustus's and Vienna's Duke's, a monk's habit. Likewise in Bale's notorious Three Lawes, Hypocrisy was garbed as a grey friar. A Jacobean audience might well have found themselves considerably disturbed by this dubious Duke's insistence that he will impose himself through marriage on the saintly Isabella.

This comforting spectacle of an "other" (Roman Catholic) place--not Jacobean England--experiencing a deluge of satanic corruption is, however, disturbed by brief but highly significant glimpses of London. Mistress Overdone and Pompey, for example, discuss a recent Proclamation requiring all the bawdy houses in the suburbs of Vienna to be "plucked down" (I.ii.86); Pompey reassures the bawd that those in the City will "stand for seed" (I.ii.91). The sudden crack-down on vice in Vienna, in fact, seems to parallel the situation in London in the early Stuart years as delineated by Thomas Dekker and many others.⁵⁴ Then there is the problem of Angelo with his Puritan's demeanour of "stricture and firm abstinence" (I.iii.12): what is his like doing wielding power at the administrative centre of the Catholic Empire? Should he be understood as a type of stern and cruel Catholic Inquisitor, or does he represent a threat closer to home: a two-faced, high-placed, Protestant threatening the "health" of the commonwealth--Lord Justice Popham, perhaps? Indeed, some Puritans in England at this time were calling for tougher penalties against

fornication, particularly adultery, invoking both the Old Testament (Mosaic) law in which the penalty for the guilty was death, and the precedent of some Protestant cities on the Continent.⁵⁵ Angelo's suggestive resemblance to Wager's Infidelitie whose "type" embodied the Old Law and the corrupt Old Faith that betrayed Christ should make us pause to think here. If Angelo does represent an extreme form of Puritanism which was advocating harsh Mosaic justice in the early Stuart years, is this factional element of Protestantism being obliquely aligned in this play with hypocrisy and thus with a backward slide into corruption? Does Measure for Measure warn about the devil within, the syphilitic "rot" of the commonwealth? Is London in danger of becoming like--or, indeed, might it already resemble--that "other" place of "fornication", Vienna?

Alternatively, does the play hint at there being another, and possibly even greater, threat to the stability of the socio-religious body, one from without--from the Hapsburg ruler of Vienna? It is surely significant that rumours about the Catholic Archduke Albert and his Spanish wife Isabella invading and colonizing Britain had gained considerable currency in 1603-4.⁵⁶ As we have seen in relation to Thomas Dekker's The Wonderfull Yeare, "reformed" Londoners, particularly those of the militant cast, did fear being swamped once again by the Antichrist in this period. Furthermore, James I's tolerance of, and conciliatory gestures towards, his "cousin" Albert did nothing to allay their worries about a more insidious

encroachment into the commonwealth of the bad old ways of
57
Catholicism.

Measure for Measure does not set out to resolve the questions it raises, instead it plays upon its audiences' doubts and anxieties, never allowing them to be completely confident that its locus is somewhere else, that identities are certain and fixed: it blurs safe boundaries and evades clear distinctions sufficiently to cause tension--to promote the circulation of social energy. This form of aesthetic empowerment in fact depends upon the finely-tuned disturbance of consoling "fictions": in this case that the diseased chaos--the social body out of control--it depicts, exists elsewhere. Measure for Measure engages with its spectators' fears for the stability and health of the commonwealth articulating them meaningfully, and--importantly--enhancing them, through the deployment of that well-worn (by the Jacobean period) yet still highly disturbing motif of inner corruption and self-collapse--syphilis.

"Pericles" and aesthetic transgressions.

The power of representations of disease in a play to arouse anxiety necessarily depends on the actual existence of that infection, or one resembling it, in the community from which the audience watching it derives. The painful, disfiguring and body-threatening aspects of the disease must be understood, if deployments of it are to harness and

deliver strong emotion. Without this, its images are likely to be appreciated only as texture-enriching satirical and structural devices; and bawdy jokes about it as just a source of good fun. Indeed, its presence and import in a work of art is likely to be missed altogether until a historical moment arises in which the devastating effects of a new "plague" reactivates awareness, conferring emotional currency on the old representations. It is no coincidence that plays dealing with the problems of syphilis are very much in vogue in the 1990s. 1990 saw the emergence on the Royal Shakespeare's Company's stage of the rotting syphilitic body of Troilus and Cressida's Thersites, and as the decade progresses productions of Measure for Measure, Timon of Athens, and Ibsen's Ghosts proliferate, exploiting--to varying degrees--the new topicality and dramatic potentialities of the old venereal disease in the wake of Aids.

The case of Pericles, unleashed on the Royal National Theatre's stage in May 1994 complete with an unsightly Pox-disfigured and limping Boult, is particularly interesting in this light. Collating seventeenth-century references to this play, Leeds Barroll has argued that "Pericles was extremely popular--perhaps even one of Shakespeare's greatest hits--no matter how bland it may seem to many modern palates".⁵⁸ It was played at court before ambassadors, was a huge success at the Globe, and went through several quarto editions; yet, as Barroll implies, Pericles has met with little commercial and critical

interest and acclaim this century. Undoubtedly its absence from the 1623 Folio (raising doubts about its authorship) is the main reason for this; but John Wilders observations about the play's "lack of dramatic irony" resulting in a "lack of dramatic tension", recorded when the BBC mounted a rare twentieth-century production of it in 1984, offer
59
another explanation.

The dramatic climax of the play--its brothel scenes depicting a popular topos from classical 'declamation' of a virgin eloquently defending herself against rape and prostitution--are, indeed, replete with irony and tension as well as potential erotic appeal but these stage effects rely especially heavily on its audiences' familiarity with syphilis in its life-threatening, untreated form, or an illness sufficiently like it. In 1984 no such contagion was arousing anxiety in Britain, and in certain crucial respects the venereal "plague" which has surfaced in the last decade does not mimic the earlier disease. Thankfully, it is neither so prevalent in society, nor so conspicuous: the Pox's ghastly ability to transform and disfigure the outer appearance of its victims, particularly their faces, is not shared by Aids. As it establishes itself, the stereotypes of the new disease are emerging as different: as the gay or bisexual male and/or the illicit drug-user. Although in its early days prostitutes and foreign others were invoked as the source of spread of the disease in the West, with the assistance of mass-media health-education these "types" appear to be losing much of the currency they

had in relation to Aids. In its present European form, therefore, and with widespread access to condoms, Aids simply does not constitute the same uncontained and substantial threat of collapse to the body that syphilis represented in the early seventeenth century. Modern audiences might recoil from unsavoury images of the syphilitic on the stage, but confronted with a Thersites or a Boult they are unlikely to experience any anxiety for their own well-being. It is interesting that while the "bland", farcical, 1994 National Theatre production of Pericles recognized the allusions to syphilis in the brothel scenes, and shamelessly exploited disfigurement for laughter, it made nothing of their serious implications, or of their thematic significance to the wider play. The medico-moral-gender politics which confer ballast and tonal variety on Pericles, and which could have been harnessed for the modern context, were sadly either denied expression or were lost on the director.

In Pericles, perhaps more than any other Jacobean play (The White Devil uses similar techniques), it is possible to observe "how a careful and meticulous artist can manipulate his audience by playing upon certain expectations concerning disease and its location in society".⁶⁰ In order, however, to be receptive to these effects (and, indeed, to be able to redeploy them creatively to satisfy a modern audience) it is essential to have some prior understanding of the meanings of the disease, and its stereotypes, in the society which gave

birth to the playtext. Against the backdrop of the early modern socio-cultural construction of syphilis that I attempted to reconstitute in the last chapter, it is time to take a closer look at the circulation of anxieties and tensions in this far from "bland" play which admirably satisfied the Jacobean palate for Romance, "mouldy" moral tale, declamatory-style rhetoric and erotica.⁶¹

Furthermore, Pericles engaged with the same medico-moral-social concerns surrounding the Pox, the family and the state, as Erasmus's The Unequal Match, echoes of which reverberate around Shakespeare's play.

The first fifteen scenes of Pericles portray the "good" Prince Pericles being tossed impotently around the exotic world of the eastern Mediterranean, a prey to forces greater than himself yet--in the manner of romance--managing to fall in love, marry and beget a child, Marina, in the process, only to lose both wife and child almost immediately. Life is cruel but virtue flourishes in hardship: Marina, for all intents and purposes an orphan, grows up to be an ideal princess--beautiful, talented, and saintly. Her tragic destiny, however, catches up with her and her life is threatened by the wicked Dionyzia just at the point when she is mourning the death of her beloved nurse. Marina's suffering seems unremitting; as she eloquently expresses it: "This world to me is but a ceaseless storm/ Whirring me from my friends" (xv.71-72). She thus prophetically foretells her future--like her past--at the mercy of uncontrollable and evil elements in nature

and in society: the Princess is saved from murder only to be sold by her pirate captors to a brothel and to a fate possibly worse than death.

After this accumulation of painful occurrences some light relief is called for, but this emerges in a rather disturbing and qualified manner, in the form of Pander, Bawd and Boulton, bewailing the poor state of their trade, caused not through a lack of customers ("gallants"), but rather through the "pitifully sodden" condition of their prostitute wares (xvi.18). The tragic import of their discussion--which would not have been lost on a Jacobean audience--is that the Pox is the inevitable and sorry fate of the Bawd's "bastards" including the "little baggage" that lay with the "poor Transylvanian" (xvi.20-21). In this subterranean world of inverted moral values, the sympathy expressed by Pander is solely for the adult lecher, not the bastard child who with "continual action" is "even as good as rotten" (xvi.8-9)--an exhausted and useless commodity. If the serious resonances of this scene are brought into play by the director, the audience's response to this low life tragi-comedy, which contains a great deal of dramatic irony (Pander is oblivious to his moral blunders), is likely to be complex. Laughter may well be checked by embarrassment (child prostitution should not be productive of humour) and tinged with anxiety: is Princess Marina about to be subjected to the same protracted and horrifying death sentence as the "poor bastards" (xvi.14)?

Significantly and disturbingly, the potential victim of

syphilis, here, is not a deviant--a sinful harlot--but an innocent virgin. Installed in the Mytilene brothel Marina bewails her fate only to be consoled by Bawd with the knowledge that she will "taste gentlemen of all fashions": a far from edifying prospect (xvi.75). The brothel's customers are, ironically and, again unsettlingly, "gentlemen". Whilst Boulton, Bawd and Pander banter about the Spaniard's mouth watering at Marina's description, at Monsieur Veroles (the French word for syphilis) cowering "i'the hams" (xvi.101)--in other words society's foppish foreigner stereotypes of the diseased--it is native "gentlemen" and "the governor of this country" (xix.58) who actually arrive at the brothel to threaten Marina's well-being. Jacobean society's safe boundaries for the representation of the disease's victims and polluters have thus been transgressed: young children and an innocent woman are at risk from "gentlemen" in this murky playworld. In the terms of Sander Gilman's thesis, such disruption in the representation of boundaries has the potential to increase the spectator's anxiety for his or her own safety in the face of the disease. Tension and social energy are generated in this play, as one by one Jacobean society's "comforting" stereotypes are undermined, the hypocrisy inherent in them exposed, and the disturbing moral chaos of the art world increasingly threatens to infringe the bounds of the stage. Here, as in Measure for Measure, anxieties are sufficiently contained to permit enjoyment through topographical distancing, and pleasurably diffused through

laughter.

Marina's eloquent powers of persuasion--her 'declamatory' skills--prove more than a match for Mytilene's lecherous gentlemen whose wayward morals she reforms in the very brothel: the First Gentleman comically declares "I'll do anything now that is virtuous, but I'm out of the road of rutting for ever" (xix.8-9). The dramatic climax of the brothel scenes is the arrival and conversion of none other than the "Lord Lysimachus", governor of Mytilene. Bawd announces: "Faith there's no way to be rid on't but by the way to the pox. [Enter Lysimachus, disguised] Here comes the Lord Lysimachus disguised" (xix.23-25). Whilst it is never directly stated or implied by any of the characters that Lysimachus has the Pox, the language of the scene conspires to sow strong seeds of doubt and fear in the audience. The proximity of the words "pox" to "it" (Marina's virginity) and "disguised"-- disguise being intimately associated with syphilis, "the great masquerader", "the secret disease"--⁶² begins the process. Boulton congratulates Lysimachus on his healthy appearance and Lysimachus retorts:

You may so. 'Tis the better for you that your resorters stand upon sound legs. How now, wholesome iniquity have you, that a man may deal withal and defy the surgeon? (xix.31-34)

Here, as in The Unequal Match, it is lameness, in particular, which marks out the syphilitic (the diseased nobleman's marriage was a "wretchedly lame affair") and banter about surgeons is common to both. Lysimachus would prefer "wholesome iniquity" (xix.32) with which to do "the

deed of darkness" (xix.37). He hides his dishonourable intentions in a cloak of euphemistic language but the audience is not to be hoodwinked for Bawd replies "Your honour knows what 'tis to say well enough" (xix.39). Furthermore, the brothel's mistress is "bound" to this governor (60); by implication, Lysimachus is a regular "resorter", all too familiar with the iniquitous business in hand. This established, Bawd's words function to highlight Lysimachus's supreme status in Mytilene society: she stresses to Marina that he is an "honourable man" (xix.55), "the governor of this country" (xix.58), and concludes "Come, we will leave his honour and hers together" (xix.69). There is, of course, a pun on "his honour", here: how will his honour emerge from this confrontation with "hers"? Marina later appropriates Bawd's terms and upbraids Lysimachus with them:

And do you know this house to be a place
Of such resort, and will come into it?
I hear say you're of honourable parts,
And are the governor of this whole province.
(xix.81- 84)

Lysimachus, meanwhile, attempts to lay any blame for sinful behaviour firmly with the lowly Bawd ("your herb-woman;/ She that sets seeds of shame, roots of iniquity" xix.86-87), whilst simultaneously reiterating his own high social standing ("my pow'r", "my authority" xix.90) which by implication place him above and apart from such "iniquity". This in spite of the fact that the play has established that he is a regular customer and that without his like there would be no such trade in the first place.

"Herb-woman" suggests Bawd's function as a quack-healer of diseases picked up at her door: the common lucrative sideline of bawdry. Thus Lysimachus's doubly reprehensible behaviour--as a "resorter" and, furthermore, as a nobleman who should know better--has been exposed. His mask has been temporarily lifted but he appears to go quite unpunished for his misdeeds, indeed, he even seems to be rewarded, for Marina's father eventually betrothes her to this man of dubious honour and health.

This is a satirical play with the same cautionary message as The Unequal Match. The potential polluter of a beautiful and talented young woman is a luxurious gentleman who abuses the privileges that his nobility favours him with. Through marriage, an innocent young woman will be placed at his disposal by the very person who should most seek to protect her--her father. Marina's response to the intended match is silence which, after her former voluble eloquence, is articulate. It is informative to read this outcome in relation to Petronius's condemnation of the "unequal match" in Erasmus's dialogue:

Enemies scarcely do this to girls captured in war, pirates to those they kidnap; and yet parents do it to an only daughter, and there's no police official with power to stop them! (Thompson, p.408)

Marina has escaped rape and murder at the hands of her enemies, has survived her passage with her pirate-captors intact, and then just when the audience is relaxing, thinking her safely delivered to the protection of her family, her father subjects her to an "unequal match".

Construed by Petronius as an "outrage" (p.407) such dubious matches reflect badly on the parents and have important implications for the commonwealth and its government: "As private individuals, they're disloyal to their family; as citizens to the state" (p.408).⁶³ The argument of the 'colloquy' is that the ability to rule of the "governing classes" is being severely undermined by the new leprosy: irresponsible father-rulers are putting both the health of their offspring and the state in jeopardy through this "madness" (p.407). Assuming that the ideas of Erasmus's dialogue had substantial currency among early seventeenth-century playgoers, this has important negative implications for how we read the character of Pericles in the Jacobean context: a Prince who is seldom in his own state; who flees from danger rather than confronting it; who readily commits his young daughter to the care of rather dubious others; and who through betrothing her to a potentially-diseased son-in-law is putting both Marina's health, and his future princely heir's, at stake. On a more symbolic level, he may unwittingly, through neglect and poor government, be introducing "corruption" into the virgin body of his daughter and the commonwealth.

If, as has been recently argued, the neglectful manner of rule of the play's royal protagonist bore resemblances to James I's style of administration, more pointed comments about Jacobean power-politics may be thinly concealed here.⁶⁴ As we saw in my discussion of Worke for Armourours, James I's management of the country was being heavily

criticized around 1608-9 (when Pericles was being staged) and Protestants were particularly concerned about a resurgence of Catholicism through James's flimsy and ill-thought out foreign and economic policies.⁶⁵ I would not, however, like to strain the implications of the conjectured resemblances between James I and Pericles too far, though I agree with Constance Relihan's conclusion: "The political structures Pericles develops simply do not invite⁶⁶ favourable comparisons with Jacobean England".

The play's distant settings--the unfamiliar shores of the eastern Mediterranean--function to camouflage and deflect any reliable, focused inferences about the English situation; Lysimachus's Mytilene, however, could readily be confused with Jacobean Southwark. Having, therefore, been transported round the exotic courts of the East with examples of aberrant government being demonstrated and--in keeping with the moral tale suggested by Gower--spelt out, the audience finds itself back in a more familiar, earthy context for the play's most powerful scenes and most poignant messages. Images of, and allusions to syphilis, are completely absent from the non-Mytilene scenes yet the disease's favourite and most persistent themes--hypocrisy (encompassing ideas about "seeming", "being", and disguise) and corruption--dominate the playtext.

The play's apparent moral ground is staked out, deceptively, in the first scene of the play by the skilful use of predictable, conventional (in terms of moralistic patriarchal discourse), yet misleading sign-posts. The

beautiful Princess of Antioch's sinful corruption is conveyed, for example, through the deployment of Jacobean society's well-worn stereotypes of the polluted and tainted woman. Thus Pericles ponders:

You gods that made me man, and sway in love,
That have inflamed desire in my breast
To taste the fruit of yon celestial tree
Or die in the adventure... (i.62-65)

The Princess is a forbidden fruit, a tainted apple. Again Pericles declares, "this fair Hesperides,/ With golden fruit, but dang'rous to be touched" (i.70-71); and finally, "this glorious casket stor'd with ill" (i.120). This is clearly a representation of the polluted Eve/Venus/Pandora type, recognizable from the pages of seventeenth-century emblem books. The Princess is not an intermediary in this construction, producing evil through picking the apple or opening the casket: she is the evil. This is very much in line with the idea of the dangerous contaminated woman--a polluting vessel--in the medical writing of the period. As a highly conventional representation, this functions, along with Gower's predictable chorus, to condition and prepare the audience for the patriarchal constructions and moral messages they are most familiar with: that women are men's and society's corrupters through the Fall; that foreigners contaminate the English with their disease; that prostitutes disseminate syphilis. What the audience is shown, however, and is undoubtedly shocked by, is an alternative, more honest, and potentially disturbing vision.

In this play it is "gentlemen" who are exposed as the

corrupters and contaminators of less powerful women; it is the King of Antioch who has abused his power and caused his daughter's Fall; it is the "honourable" Lysimachus who threatens Marina's virtue. What the audience is shown through the action is frequently at variance, then, with what is often, rather too glibly, stated. In the first scene, for example, the symbolically unnamed "Daughter of Antioch" is a virtually silent witness to the events manipulated by her father: as a young and impotent presence, and as her father's victim, she has the potential to inspire sympathy in the audience in spite of Pericles's condemning speeches about her. The structural design of the play (the gaps between what the audience hears and what it sees), in fact, embodies and reflects its major preoccupation: the differences between saying and doing, seeming and being, which delineate hypocrisy.

Pericles, like Measure for Measure, dramatizes the particular implications and dangers of hidden corruption in rulers, and of the tyrannical and abusive power-relations which result. Isabella challenges Angelo (and the audience) with the problem: "authority, though it err like others,/ Hath yet a kind of medicine in itself/ That skins the vice o'th'top" (II.ii.138-40); and Pericles rephrases it: "King's are earth's gods; in vice their law's their will,/ And if Jove stray, who dares say Jove doth ill?" (i.146-47). This, of course, has interesting connotations for the Jacobean stage: one dare not "say Jove doth ill" but playwrights might seek to reveal it, or at least gesture

towards it, through dramatic representation.

Literary scholars' attempts to account for the prevalence of images of venereal disease in Shakespeare's Jacobean plays provide an interesting index of twentieth century critical currents and a barometer of "taste". Prior to the late 1940s venereal disease was simply not the domain of literary critics at all,⁶⁷ though medical commentators did foreground and catalogue its presence in Shakespearean drama.⁶⁸ Later humanist criticism reflected the prevailing vogue for bardolatry, centring explanations in the body of the author. Critics pondered on Shakespeare's physical constitution ("Shakespeare appears never to have had a venereal disease");⁶⁹ speculated about his mental state ("[his] increasingly pessimistic outlook");⁷⁰ or about his habits in relation to his conjectured psyche ("it is unlikely that he should have consorted ... with prostitutes for he possessed an exquisitely fastidious nature");⁷¹ or reflected queasily on the "serious indecency" of his environs and age.⁷²

More recent scholarship has yielded different, but in many ways equally reductive conclusions. The focus, as might be anticipated, has shifted to the social body and to generic form: syphilis is the "ne plus ultra" figure of social "corrosion" or "corruption" and, like syphilis itself, this was rife in early Stuart society.⁷³ For Gregory Bentley, author of Shakespeare and the New Disease, Shakespeare's drama "illustrates" the culture it emanates

from; images of syphilis abound in the late plays, reflecting the disease's actual prevalence in society and confirming the satirical nature of the plays containing it.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the gender and sexuality-conscious scholarship of the 1990s has hailed syphilis as the Jacobean figure 'par excellence' of desire (or excessive desire),⁷⁵ and desire, like its figure, oozes brazenly and threateningly (exceeding "the bounds of propriety"),⁷⁶ like uncontained "semen", from every erotic orifice of "the theatre of excess" (but most especially, it seems, from the transgressive, unbounded stage of Troilus and Cressida).⁷⁷

Whilst Bentley's analysis grounds the plays on the page, not venturing to consider whether staged representations of syphilis might, in any way, have intervened in reality, the theorists of the erotic stage unwittingly manage to divest the disease of its important early modern ideological resonances. All the above approaches suffer from their neglect of pre-Jacobean literary and dramatic representations of syphilis. "Fornication" and its companions, infidelity and syphilis, continued to have complex and composite politico-religious meanings in a Jacobean society which was possibly as much obsessed with its desire for moral and social regeneration, as it was with sex. Whilst the Jacobean stage dramatized the horror of "appetites" out of control, and pondered seriously on how best to contain them, it acknowledged and exploited, like its Tudor forerunner (and as in the Colloquies), the pleasure in the exposition.⁷⁸

CONCLUSION

The yere of our Lorde, 1603.

... all the world shall be sette on mischives, and unfaithfulnes. Manie and diverse kindes of sicknesse shall raigne Certaine cities ... shall be tossed with daungers, and variable stormes. Manie thousandes of people this yere shall perishe with hunger, Sworde, and Pestilence. Also ther shalbe in this yere, greate death of noble men and renouned matrones. By occasion wherof greate perturbation and confusion of thinges shall afterwarde happen. (An Almanach and Prognostication for 40 years "Gathered by Philip Moore, practitioner of Phisicke and Chyrurgerie", 1567.)

1

Emerging from the murky and tangled terrain of early modern disease representations, I am acutely aware of the need to be cautious about positing simple conclusions--especially about images of disease "reflecting" the prevalence of anything, such as actual, moral or social disease (or desire), in the originating culture. The affect- and value-laden field of disease images and discourses is strewn with complex, confusing, and potentially misleading signposts, a point which was forcefully brought home to me by my recent discovery of an almanac written by the Protestant physician and surgeon, Philip Moore.

2

Moore was a friend of William Bullein, a fellow reformer-prophet, and the apocalyptic scenarios he predicted for the first decade of the seventeenth century cast an interesting additional light on the productions of later militants, like Dekker, who self-consciously situated their work within a Protestant tradition of writing. Several decades in advance of the "Wonderfull yeare", Moore

predicted not only death of "renowned matrones", subsequent social confusion, and pestilence for 1603; but also, rather uncannily, events which were to bear a highly suggestive resemblance to the Essex uprising, and its defeat, of 1601. It is distinctly possible that Protestant history was partly shaped and given impetus by these sorts of prophetic forecasts; and it is even more likely that the inscribing of that history was marked by them. The bleak view of humanity and pessimism which characterize Dekker's plague pamphlets are reminiscent of Bullein's plague-ridden "blacke warlde" where "The daie of Dome is at hand" unless³ "A better reformation be had"--"Note this well"! Designed to be persuasive, polemical and cautionary, and informed by an apocalyptic Protestant vision of history, what these pamphlets probably least represent are "three dimensional" illustrations of reality, or straight-forward "news reports" of plague epidemics.⁴ There is no indication, either, that the major plagues of 1563, 1592-93 and 1603 swept away "official hierarchic limits" (Bakhtinian-⁵ style), allowing greater politico-literary freedom, though there is ample to suggest that they functioned to intensify hardships, grievances and social divisions in early modern England. It is these highly sensitive issues, wedded to the polemics of Protestant reform, and glossed with providential meaning, which were given expression in the plague pamphlets. "Medicinal" Bullein's and Dekker's tracts might have been intended to be, but "consoling" they most certainly were not; and, tightly intermeshed with the

politics of their times, the creative transcendancy desired and found here by a handful of critics (see Introduction)⁶ is so much wish-fulfilment.

It is undoubtedly wise, in the face of the representational complexity I have outlined above, to be extremely wary of offering clear-cut solutions and unproblematic ways of understanding what I have experienced as an extraordinarily complex field. What can be safely said, however, is that bubonic plague and the Pox were the two most richly symbolic diseases of the period 1510-1620. Early modern representations of them often encode layers of tradition and myth-making--native, Christian and classical--and are freighted with social and political meanings. A "Daunce and Song of Death" (Fig.2 c.1566) which I chanced upon in a collection of ballad sheet "monstrous births" from this period, illustrates the dense imaginative framework into which these diseases were absorbed and which formed the homiletic basis for their sixteenth-century political appropriations. In the centre, sitting on a grave, a blotchy, rotting body--"Sycknes Deathes minstrel"--orchestrates the macabre dance which involves the entire social and intellectual range (death being the great leveller), and which functions as a "warning to be ware" singling out two particularly sinful types. In the top left-hand corner a covetous usurer counts out his piles of money (recalling the "stinky muckle hills" of Bullein's rich extortioners who abuse the poor), whilst in the lower right-hand corner "pleasures usurer"

(recalling Dekker's Hippolito) indulges his passion for food, drink and the delights of "Venus".⁷ The furry, griffin-like paws of the table/ enticing woman, suggest harlotry, deceit, and the "sting in the tail" of hidden syphilitic infection.⁸ The two usuries, then, are intimately connected with sin, body-disfiguring sickness and death: excessive pleasure (construed primarily as lechery and gluttony), and the accumulation of riches in the absence of charity, were this period's moral disease bugbears which found their physical analogues in two of the most fearful diseases of the sixteenth century. Traditionally associated with greed for money, plague/pestilence maintained its well-established association with the exploitative rich, whilst "the new leprosy" inherited and built upon the meanings of the old, rapidly disappearing disease.

Partnered in the dance of death and presiding over the depravity, rot and impending terminal decline of the body of the nation which sixteenth-century humanists piped about incessantly in their writings--"who can be so blynd or obstynate to deny the grete dekey, fautys & mysordurys ... of our commyn wele" (Starkey, p.47)--the two usuries, their diseases, and the blame associated with them, were pressed into the service of bodily regeneration and reform. They evolved the politically specific meanings and relevances detailed throughout this thesis, which encoded deep misgivings about a changing world ("the warlde is sare chaunged");⁹ tensions about unstable boundaries (national,

religious, social, gender); and pronounced anxieties about the potential of "other" bodies to harm.

The nation's renewal was construed as requiring healthy, disciplined and personally-responsible individual bodies, a reformed religious body (with social, economic and political goals), a reasoning (appetite-constrained) monarch at its head, and skilled "physicians". The Protestant obsession with medicine and disease was undoubtedly fuelled by the humanist revival of classical texts, particularly those dealing in moral and political philosophy which abound with medical and bodily analogies, and which make much of civic health being based on individual bodily soundness and self-mastery (proper regimen). The latter point was endorsed, stressed, and widely disseminated by the writings of early sixteenth-century humanists--Erasmus's influential outpourings most crucially. Such bodily correspondences would also have been encouraged by Pauline theology and the growth of Neoplatonism in this period. Once medical analogies had been inscribed into Calvinist doctrine and given prominence in the Geneva Bible, their cultural circulation was ensured. The physician's special place in the Protestant programme of renewal was undoubtedly suggested by the charismatic appeal of healing, but guaranteed, too, by the authority and importance of the biblical Word at this time; as William Turner--not self-disinterestedly--put it: "This open prayse and commendacyon is gyven by holy writers unto Phisick ... which I fynde not to be gyven unto anye other

10
science".

So far my story seems fairly straightforward and can be substantiated by the texts I have examined, but things become much more complicated when I try to unravel, and draw conclusions about, the complex process whereby biology, bodies, language and culture interacted in this period. What bearing (if any) did the arrival of a new disease--syphilis--have, for example, on the profound interrogation and re-assessment of all sorts of bodies which took place in the Renaissance? The destabilizing and intellectually-invigorating effects of biological events themselves should not be disregarded: Plutarch (writing in the same politically turbulent milieu as Lucretius) had after all proclaimed--rather too anxiously--that there could be no miraculous changes in nature such as new diseases "perpetually creating a New Order in man as if in some body politic".¹¹ How far was England's, indeed Europe's, perceived social rot conditioned by the bodily manifestations and prevalence of the new epidemic? And, how far did artistic fashions for moral "anatomies", satire, bawdy city comedies, and declamatory debates centring on pollution, owe their currency to the Pox (as opposed to other events)? That the Pox was a very active player in this socio-cultural arena, I am convinced, but beyond this the complexity of the variables involved belies any easy pronouncements.

And the body itself, why did it, and its symbolism and metaphors, dominate so much debate and occupy so much

textual space in such a wide range of writings in this period? I have offered many explanations through the course of this thesis and undoubtedly a particular concatenation of socio-cultural variables produced this representational glut. Insights from cultural theory and historiography would seem to support a thesis, however, that puts social dislocation aligned with profound intellectual ferment at the top of the list of contributing factors.

Mary Douglas maintains, for example, that cultures which "frankly develop bodily symbolism" may be using it to confront, make sense of, and order, perplexing and difficult experience ("pains and losses").¹² The work of Mark Johnson, a philosopher who studies the role of tropes in human cognition, supports this thesis: he argues for the bodily basis of meaning, according metaphors of the body the central place in human imagination and reason. Through metaphor we "project patterns from one domain of experience in order to structure another domain of a different kind". "Bodily experience" constrains the "input" to the metaphorical projections, and determines the kinds of mappings that can occur across domains.¹³ Such theories are attractive in that they do go some way to explaining the curious intimate interplay between care of the individual body (eating, hygiene rituals), human anxiety (particularly strategies to reduce it), and social ordering practices. Anthropologists have, however, taken issue with Johnson, arguing the importance of the cultural base in the choice of metaphor: symbolism surrounding monkeys and tea

ceremonies can, for example, be shown to mediate and order human experience (in the same way that the body seems to in ours) in Japanese culture.¹⁴

Whether determined by culture or by human cognition, the body and its metaphors were pressed especially strongly into locutory service at a moment in English history noted for what Christopher Hill has described as the "confusion and ferment" of its "intellectual life" when "The vision of reality that had supported the rational consciousness of man for a thousand years was fading".¹⁵ Indeed, too, as I hope my thesis has shown, the body was a particularly effective metaphorical vehicle for conveying the teachings and polemics of the Protestant religion which "tried to take seriously the demand of Christianity to dominate every aspect of life".¹⁶ Refashioning bodies, envisaging radically alternative ones, decrying old, decaying and diseased models, were features of this period's "confusion and ferment" which are inscribed in all the texts I have examined here. Furthermore, and as the historian Kevin Sharpe has highlighted, these tendencies (especially concerning diseased bodies) seem to have gathered increasing momentum in the years leading up to the English civil war.¹⁷ Bodily tropes formed the basis for hypotheses which resulted in real political initiatives and--sometimes--in radical action: perhaps this is one reason why they were stamped on so heavily after the Restoration.

Which brings me to the vexing question of why any materialist critic should wish to banish the body from the

realms of serious literary critical enquiry. In "The historian as body-snatcher" Terry Eagleton expressed his disgust at the "mutilated" bodies (conflated in his article with "victims of oppressive power") which seem to him to be "an item 'de rigueur' in any kosher new-historicist work".¹⁸ Eagleton is unsparing in his ridicule of body-centred critical approaches because--he maintains--they inevitably focus too centrally on victims of power rather than on those who successfully oppose it. This seems to me to be based on a misunderstanding of the crucial role the symbolic body plays in mediating social debate and tensions (serving to articulate hegemonic and oppositional prejudices and fears), but it also negates the important aesthetic dimension of representations of the body in art. Disease and disordered bodies are not marginal to art but at the centre of it--a point which Aids has brought home to most of us, and which I hope this thesis has gone some little way in helping to establish. Purporting to be the deftest interpreter of the way words, texts and drama work, literary criticism simply cannot afford to stick to its isolated, head-in-the-sand (beauty=art=escapism) "pleasure principle" ways; nor, indeed, to go on largely ignoring the complex functions of tropes--it is time to take note of what other disciplines have been saying for some time.

In this study of early modern fictions of disease, tropes and symbolic bodies have played a guiding role, helping to locate and bring together writings from the past whose network of shared images uncover ideological debates,

social tensions, and contending voices which might otherwise have remained concealed. They have functioned, also, to highlight the literary forms traditionally associated with particular socio-political grievances; and to foreground continuities in literary traditions which were in danger of being lost sight of. This research has left me in no doubt that the ubiquitous process of the metaphorization of disease--so powerfully lamented by Susan Sontag¹⁹--is here to stay. Integral to the mechanism that human beings and cultures have for making sense of, and managing, frightening biological events--especially those which are not amenable to science--the metaphorization of disease has positive functions as well as more negative offshoots. Rather than attempting--futilely--to eradicate the process (as called for by Sontag), we should make more concerted and detailed attempts to understand the role of tropes in the complex interplay of biological, social and cultural forces which we term "disease". As I hope my research has shown, in early modern England, literature, and its traditions, were key players in this process, shaping both the meaning of "disease" and social responses to it, demonstrating--importantly--that works of art are (in Terry Eagleton's words) "material events, palpable interventions in reality rather than pale reflections of it".²⁰

APPENDIX 1

Early modern regimens surveyed in chapter 1.

All citations in the text are to these editions.

(Biographical information obtained from DNB 1921.)

1. Regimen sanitatis Salerni (STC2 21596, 9 editions between 1528 and 1634)

Thomas Paynell: Austin friar, Oxford scholar, translator of literary and medical studies, chaplain to Henry VIII, diplomat.

2. The Castel of Helth (STC2 7642.5, 17 eds. between 1534 and 1610)

Sir Thomas Elyot: knight, lawyer, civil servant, diplomat, "man of letters".

3. A boke, or counseill against the disease commonly called the sweate, or sweatynge sickness (STC2 4343, one ed., 1552)

John Caius: Fellow of the College of Physicians.

4. A newe booke Entituled the Governement of Healthe (STC2 4039, 4 eds: 1558, 1558, 1559, 1594)

William Bullein: church minister, physician.

5. Bulleins Bulwarke of defence (STC2 4033, 2 eds.: 1562, 1579)

William Bullein: see 4 above.

6. The Touchstone of Complexions (STC2 15456, 3 eds.: 1576, 1591, 1633)

Thomas Newton: lawyer, poet, physician, divine.

7. A Short and profitable Treatise touching the cure of the disease called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions (STC2 5447, 2 eds.: 1579, 1585)

William Clowes: London surgeon, appointed to the queen.

8. The Haven of Health (STC2 5478, 6 eds. between 1584 and 1636)

Thomas Cogan, Oxford Fellow, physician, master of Manchester grammar school.

9. A Defensative against the Plague (STC2 14917, one ed., 1593)

Simon Kellwaye: humanist "man of letters".

10. Naturall and artificial directions for health (STC2 24612, 7 eds. between 1600 and 1633)

William Vaughan: lawyer, poet, colonial pioneer.

11. A Treatise of the Plague (STC2 16676, one ed., 1603)

Thomas Lodge: humanist "man of letters", physician.

12. A New Booke intituled, I am for you all, Complexions castle (STC2 17257, one ed., 1604)

James Manning: "minister of the word".

13. The Englishmans Doctor OR, the Schoole of Salerne (STC2 21605, 5 eds., between 1607 and 1624)

Sir John Harington: lawyer, wit and "man of letters"

NOTES

Introduction

1 Lucretius, The Nature of Things, trans. Frank Copley (New York: W.Norton, 1977).

2 John Milton, Paradise Lost, ed. Alastair Fowler (London: Longman, 1979).

3 Susan Sontag, Aids and its Metaphors (London: Penguin, 1989) p.93.

4 P.Wright and A.Treacher, eds., Introduction, The Problem of Medical Knowledge (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982) pp.8, 10, 15. In fact anthropologists were describing the cultural construction of medicine before this: a seminal work which guided my trajectory in this thesis is J.B.Loudon, ed., Social Anthropology and Medicine (1976; London: Academic Press Inc.Ltd, 1979). See also, Cecil G.Helman, Culture, Health and Illness: an introduction for health professionals (Bristol: Wright, 1984).

5 I have found particularly illuminating and formative the following texts arguing the discursive, constructed nature of science and/or medicine, and (for the most part) emphasizing the tropological language at the heart of all discourse: A.Benjamin, G.Cantor, J.Christie, eds., The Figural and The Literal (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Michael Arbib and Mary Hesse, The Construction of Reality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Mark Johnson, The Body in The Mind: the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987); James J.Bono, "Science, Discourse, and Literature: The Role/Rule of Metaphor in Science," Literature and Science ed. Stuart Peterfreund (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990); L.J.Jordanova, ed., Languages of Nature (London: Free Association Books, 1986); Kathryn Montgomery Hunter, Doctors Stories: The Narrative Structure of Medical Knowledge (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); James W.Fernandez, ed., Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

6 Gregory Bentley, Shakespeare and The New Disease: The Dramatic Function of Syphilis in "Troilus and Cressida", "Measure for Measure", "Timon of Athens" (New York: Peter Lang, 1989); F.David Hoeniger, Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992); Leeds Barroll, Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).

7 In Shakespeare studies, in particular, there is a long tradition (stemming from the nineteenth century) of books illustrating the playwright's extensive medical knowledge and speculating whether or not he was actually a physician. Notable examples are: John Charles Bucknill, The Medical Knowledge of Shakespeare (London: Longman & Co., 1860); R.R.Simpson, Shakespeare and Medicine (Edinburgh and London: E.& S.Livingstone, 1959).

8 Claudine Herzlich and Janine Pierret, Illness and Self in Society (*Malades d'hier, malades d'aujourd'hui*, [1976]) trans. Elbory Forster (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987) xi.

9 J.B.Loudon, Introduction, Social Anthropology p.42.

10 Simon Kellwaye, A Defensative against the Plague (London, 1593) f.39r.

11 Helman, p.17: "humoral theory ... has its roots in China and India, but ... was elaborated into a system of medicine by Hippocrates."

12 Henry Sigerist, Civilization and Disease, Phoenix paperback imp. (1943; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) pp.185-86.

13 George Cheyne, The English Malady, OR, A Treatise of Nervous diseases of all kinds (London, 1733) sig.A1r-v.

14 Andrew Wear, "Early Modern Madness," lecture, The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, 23 Jan. 1992.

15 Meyer Fortes, Foreword, Social Anthropology, ed. Loudon, xii. E.H.Ackerknecht, Medicine and Ethnology: selected essays, ed. H.H.Walser and H.M.Koelbing (1945; Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1971) p.114.

16 Cited in Meyer Fortes, xix.

17 Claude Levi-Strauss, Myth and Meaning (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) pp.12-13, 17.

18 Meyer Fortes, xix-xx.

19 Loudon, Introduction, Social Anthropology pp.36-37.

20 Meyer Fortes, xvii.

21 Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, In Sickness and in Health: The British Experience 1650-1850 (London: Fourth Estate, 1988) p.7, stress that "serious lay/professional divisions" postdate their period, which is considerably later than mine.

22 Sander Gilman, Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988) p.3.

23 In relation to Mary Douglas, I am thinking particularly of her seminal work recorded in Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo, paperback imp. (1966; London: Ark, 1984).

24 Jean E.Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies," English Literary Renaissance 16 (1986): p.25. Stephen Greenblatt's own account of his critical practice, including its indebtedness to the insights of Raymond Williams and Michel Foucault, is perhaps most succinctly expressed in the introduction to Learning To Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture (London: Routledge, 1990) pp.1-15.

25 David Norbrook, Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984) p.8

26 See above, note 5, for the studies of trope theory I have found most persuasive and helpful.

27 Paul Slack, The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England, paperback imp. (1985; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) p.151.

28 David G.Hale, The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance England (The Hague: Mouton, 1971) p.7.

29 E.M.W.Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, 1943, paperback imp. from 2nd ed.(1972; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974) p.24.

30 Tillyard, p.12.

31 Caroline Spurgeon, Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells us (1935; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939) pp.159, 61. Spurgeon's proposition is undermined by the virtual absence of disease imagery in the extremely evil environment of Titus Andronicus. A very cogent account of the cathartic purge in Renaissance drama is contained in C.di Miceli, "Sickness and Physic in Some Plays by Middleton and Webster," Cahiers Elizabethan 23-26 (1983-84): pp.41-78.

32 Gail Kern Paster, The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

33 Bentley, pp.2-4.

34 E.A.M.Colman, The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare (London: Longman, 1974) p.112.

35 The relation between satire, medicine and disease was first extensively explored by Mary Claire Randolph in "The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory: Its Possible Relationships and Implications," Studies in Philology 38 (1941): pp.125-57.

36 Valerie Traub, Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama (London: Routledge, 1992); Catherine Belsey, "Desire's Excess and the English Renaissance Theatre," Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 1992) p.98.

37 Gilman, pp.1, 2, 3.

38 David Steel, "Plague Writing: From Boccaccio to Camus," Journal of European Studies xi (1981): p.91.

39 Slack, Impact p.151.

40 Barbara Fass Leavy, To Blight With Plague: Studies in a Literary Theme (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992).

41 Herbert G.Wright, "Some Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Writers on the Plague," Essays and Studies 6 (1953): pp.41-55.

42 Sandra Clark, The Elizabethan Pamphleteers (London: The Athlone Press, 1983) p.112. Mary Leland Hunt, Thomas Dekker: A Study (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1911), had similarly seen the plague pamphlets as "records" of "horror and panic", pp.124-25; and E.D.Pendry, Thomas Dekker (London: Edward Arnold, 1967), felt they caught "the very three-dimensional sense of what it was like", p.21.

43 Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and his World (Tvorchestvo transua Rable [1965]), trans. Helen Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T Press, 1968) p.272.

44 Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

45 Christopher Ricks, "Doctor Faustus and Hell on Earth," Essays in Criticism 35 (1985): p.118; see also Raymond Stephanson, "The Plague Narratives of Defoe and Camus," Modern Language Quarterly 48 (1987): p.227--"the plague in a sense compels an imaginative response".

46 On the "white plague" and Romanticism see Jeffrey Meyers, Disease and the Novel 1880-1960 (New York: St.Martins Press, 1985) pp.4-11.

47 Ricks, p.115.

I THE HUMORAL BODY AND THE ART OF PROPER REGIMEN

Chapter1

1 Thomas Cogan, The Haven of Health (London, 1584) f.2r.

2 William Bullein, Bulleins Bulwarke of defence against all Sicknes, Sornes, and woundes. (London, 1562).

3 See Meyer Fortes, xvii.

4 Sigerist, p.149.

5 Sigerist, p.149; Vivian Nutton, "Social history of Graeco-Roman medicine," Medicine in Society: Historical Essays, ed. Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p.23.

6 L.Clendening, Source Book of Medical History (New York: P.B.Hoeber, 1942) p.13. G.E.R.Lloyd, Introduction, Hippocratic Writings, trans. J.Chadwick and W.N.Mann, ed. G.E.R.Lloyd, paperback ed. (1978; London: Penguin Classics, 1983) p.10.

7 Sigerist, p.150. Hippocrates, "The Sacred Disease," in Lloyd, Hippocratic Writings p.240: as this text about epilepsy makes clear, this was not a rejection of the supernatural, but rather an unwillingness to implicate its operations (particularly malevolent ones) in the medical understanding of disease processes. E.R.Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (California: University of California Press, 1973) p.68.

8 Hippocrates, "Airs, Waters, Places," in Lloyd, Hippocratic Writings pp.148-69.

9 Sigerist, p.151. Hoeniger, p.82.

10 On humoral medicine see Nancy G.Siraisi, Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) pp. 104-6. Andrew Wear, "Making sense of the environment in early modern England," Medicine in Society pp.119-47. Sigerist, pp.149-51.

11 See Introduction, pp.11-12.

12 Hippocrates, "Epidemics Bks.I,II,III," in Lloyd, Hippocratic Writings pp.87-138; Vivian Nutton, "The Seeds of Disease: An Explanation of Contagion and Infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance," Medical History 27 (1983): pp.1-34; Andrew Wear, "The History of Personal Hygiene," Companion Encyclopedia of The History of Medicine, eds. W.F.Bynum and Roy Porter, vol.1. (2 vols; London & New

York: Routledge, 1993) pp.1283-308.

13 Galen, "On the different types of fever" 1.6: VII 289-91k, quoted in Nutton, "The Seeds of Disease" p.6.

14 Michel Foucault, The Use of Pleasure: the History of Sexuality, Volume Two (L'Usage des plaisirs [1984]), trans. Robert Hurley (1985; London: Penguin Books, 1992) p.101.

15 Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. Arthur Golding, in Ovid's Metamorphoses: the Arthur Golding translation, 1567 ed. John F.Nims (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965) p.179.

16 Thomas Paynell, Regimen sanitatis Salerni (London, 1528) title-page.

17 Sir Thomas Elyot, The Castel of Helth (London, 1534) title-page.

18 On the early modern popular dissemination of medical knowledge see Roy Porter, Introduction, The Popularization of Medicine, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992) pp.1-16.

19 Andrew Wear, "The popularization of medicine in early modern England," The Popularization of Medicine pp.22-24.

20 This corresponds with Slack's "category 7" although I have included discursive regimens focusing on specific diseases; see Paul Slack, "Mirrors of health and treasures of poor men: the uses of the vernacular medical literature of Tudor England," Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.245.

21 Porter, Popularization p.3.

22 Elyot commends Linacre's translation in The Book Named The Governor (1531), ed. S.E.Lehmberg (London: Dent, 1962) p.60.

23 Vesalius's famous anatomical treatise De humani corporis fabrica was published in 1543.

24 Charles Webster, "Paracelsus: medicine as popular protest," Medicine and the Reformation, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1993) p.62. Barbara Gutmann Rosenkratz, "Case Histories--An Introduction," In Time of Plague, ed. Arien Mack (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991) p.75, rightly draws attention to the "measure of confidence lent to new voices of authority in time of plague".

25 Webster, "Paracelsus" pp.57-60; Charles Webster, "Alchemical and Paracelsian medicine," Health, Medicine and Mortality pp.301-31.

- 26 Clendening, "Paracelsus" p.95. Sigerist, pp.155-56.
- 27 R.Bostocke, Auncient and Later Phisicke (London, 1585) p.127.
- 28 John Caius, A boke, or counseill against the disease commonly called the sweate, or sweatynge sicknesse (London, 1552) f.39r.
- 29 William Bullein, A newe booke Entituled the Government of Healthe (London, 1558) f.xlii.v.
- 30 On the Quadruplex Exposition see Woodburn O.Ross, Introduction, Middle English Sermons, ed. W.Ross from British Museum MS. Royal 18B xxiii, for the Early English Text Society, Original Series No.209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940) vi.
- 31 Thomas Newton, The Touchstone of Complexions (London, 1576) f.4r.
- 32 See below, p.79, John Calvin's instruction regarding the doctrinal centrality of knowing "our selves".
- 33 William Vaughan, Naturall and artificial directions for health (London, 1600) p.51.
- 34 James Manning, A New Booke intituled, I am for you all, Complexions castle (London, 1604) p.2.
- 35 On the religious and political significance of signs (including astronomical and astrological ones) in the Lutheran medical schema of the body and its environment, see Sachiko Kusakawa, "Melanchthon and astrology for Lutheran medics", Medicine and the Reformation pp.33-47.
- 36 Simon Kellwaye, A Defensative against the Plague (London, 1593) f.2r.
- 37 Anon., The Englishman's Doctor (London, 1607) sig.A8r. STC2 attributes this translation to Sir John Harington.
- 38 See below, pp.255, 262.
- 39 William Clowes, A Short and profitable Treatise touching the cure of the disease called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions (London, 1579).
- 40 The relation between poverty, disease and perceived disorder is dealt with at length in chapters 4-6.
- 41 Clowe's locutions appear imitative of Calvin's in The Institution of Christian Religion, see below pp.77-9.
- 42 On London's social policy initiatives, see below pp.314-

315.

43 See below, p.269.

44 Thomas Lodge, A Treatise of the Plague (London, 1603) sig.F1v.

45 See below, p.201.

46 Webster, "Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine," p.313. Charles Webster opposes the erroneous view expressed by Paul H.Kocher in Science and Religion in Elizabethan England (California: Huntington Library Publications, 1953) pp.256-57, that by the end of the sixteenth century mystical explanations of disease "had been pretty well washed out of the medical books".

47 See Michael MacDonald, Witchcraft and hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover Case (London: Routledge, 1991).

48 John Woolton, The Christian Manuell, or the life and maners of true Christians (London, 1576) sig.L4r.

49 Francis Bacon, Of the proficiencie and advancement of learning, divine and humane (London, 1605) f.46r.

50 Thomas Heywood, A Woman Killed with Kindness, in Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies, ed. K.Sturgess (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1985). Belsey, p.95. Rick Bowers, "A Woman Killed with Kindness: Plausibility on a Smaller Scale," Studies in English Literature 24 (Spring, 1984): p.298.

51 John Calvin, The Institution of Christian Religion (London, 1561), Bk.II.Ch.1.8, f.4r. See Andrew Wear, "Puritan perceptions of illness in seventeenth-century England," Patients and Practitioners, ed. R.Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp.55-99.

52 See below, chapter 5, particularly pp.275-76.

53 Euan Cameron, The European Reformation (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) p.114.

54 The Bible (Geneva, 1562), "The Argument", Leviticus, f.46r.

55 James Balmford, A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection (London, 1603) pp.7-8.

56 Vivian Nutton, "Wittenberg Anatomy," Medicine and the Reformation pp.21, 23.

57 Bakhtin, p.359.

58 William Perkins, A Golden Chaine, or The Description of Theologie written in Latine, and translated by R.Hill (Cambridge, 1597) p.33.

59 Thomas Drant, A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of saint Hierome (London, 1566). A representative survey of metaphors shared between religious and medical tracts is contained in David N.Harley, "Medical Metaphors in English Moral Theology, 1560-1660," Journal of the History of Medicine 48:4 (October 1993) pp.396-435.

60 John Donne "Expostulation XX," Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, and severall steps in my Sicknes (London, 1624) pp.588-89.

61 Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977). See also Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, Political Shakespeare: New essays in cultural materialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985) p.6.

62 Slack, "Mirrors of health" p.249; Allan Chapman, "Astrological Medicine," Health, Medicine and Mortality p.277.

Chapter 2

1 Elyot, The Governor p.1.

2 Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, ed. A.C.Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977) II "Of Temperaunce" xi.2. p.272.

3 For a comparison with the Platonic notion of regimen see The Republic of Plato trans. Francis MacDonald Cornford (1941; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) XII p.124.

4 Hamilton, pp.2-4, dates the composition of The Faerie Queene between 1579 and 1590 when it was published; The Touchstone underwent two editions in the late sixteenth century (STC2 1576 and 1581).

5 Desiderius Erasmus, The Education of a Christian Prince (1516) trans. Lester K.Born (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1968) p.173. George Buchanan, De Jure Regni Apud Scotos (1579), trans. Charles F. Arrowood, in The Powers of the Crown in Scotland (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1949); Buchanan described this "balance" as essential to "justice" and the control of "inordinate passions", leading to harmony in the body politic, p.51.

6 For example, Christopher Marlowe's Tamburlaine the Great ed. J.S.Cunningham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981). Tamburlaine, notably, does not practise

proper regimen but is governed by his passions which eventually exhaust his body of life-giving spirits. He mistakenly construes:

Nature, that framed us of four elements
Warring within our breasts for regiment
Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds.

(Part I, II.vii.18-20)

Reason should rather have taught him to imitate nature's ordering and balancing principles. The citation at the beginning of this chapter, from Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene (II.xi.2), provides a statement of good governance through temperance which provides an excellent contrast to Tambulaine's false construction.

R.J.Dorius, "A Little More than a Little," Shakespeare Quarterly 11 (1960): pp.13-26, provides an exhaustive catalogue of images of "excess" in Richard II but does not contextualize the play within the political debates of the 1590s which deploy similar motifs.

7 Philip Hunton, A Treatise of Monarchy (1643), in Divine Right and Democracy, ed. David Wootton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986) p.188.

8 Quentin Skinner, "Political philosophy," The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy eds. Charles Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p.443.

9 Skinner, p.422.

10 Skinner, p.422.

11 Erasmus's Colloquies foreground this perceived degeneration--see below pp.283-296.

12 Skinner, p.442.

13 William Tyndale, The Obedience of a Christian Man, in Works (London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1831) pp.228-29.

14 John Knox, The History of the Reformation in Scotland (1584) in The Works, ed. David Laing, vol.1 (7 vols; Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1846) p.412.

15 An Homilie against disobedience and wilfull rebellion (1623), appendix 3 in King Richard II, ed. Andrew Gurr (1984; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p.219. This homily was first issued in 1570.

16 Conrad Russell The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) p.131.

17 Quoted in Russell, p.131.

18 Russell, p.141.

19 James Stuart, Basilicon Doron (1599), facsimilie of first ed. (Menston: The Scolar Press Limited, 1969) p.3.

20 David Norbrook, "Macbeth and the Politics of Historiography," Politics of Discourse, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) p.84.

21 Harry's self-conscious fashioning of himself as prince and then king appears to be based, very appropriately, on his reading of Erasmus's Christian Prince (see note 23 below) and Elyot's The Governor. His mingling with his subjects to hear what is said about the king is a particular virtue practised by Elyot's governor, p.233.

22 Norbrook, "Macbeth" pp.78-83.

23 T.W.Baldwin, William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greek, vol.I (2 vols; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944) p.738, noted that the argument of Shakespeare's opening sonnets is exactly that found in Erasmus's Christian Prince--"Non moritur, qui vivam sui reliquit imaginem"--and pronounced it significant that the argument of procreation did not belong to the sonnet tradition. Baldwin, p.187, cites Vives recommendation of this text in De Ratione; and, p.317, Laurence Humphrey's words in The Nobles: or of Nobilitie (1563): "Reade he also all wryters of Nobilitie. Erasmus of the Institution of a Christian Prince In them as mirrours, to see and beholde hym selfe" (sigs.Y5-6). It is tempting to read Richard's sorrowful examination of himself in a "glass"--"the very book indeed/ Where all my sins are writ" (V.i.264-65)--as a witty allusion to the pedagogic "mirrors for princes" which have clearly not benefited this king, although his own verbal-play suggests he has read them (for example, around the word "care" III.ii.91-92 and IV.i.185-89, a concept which Elyot discusses under "things to premeditate" p.97; Erasmus had stressed the "burden" and "toil" embraced by the virtuous king, p.182. Shakespeare's Bolingbroke notably accepts Richard's "cares" with his "crown" IV.i.184; Richard had earlier consoled himself: "what loss is it to be rid of care?" III.ii.92). There are many verbal echoes from the Christian Prince in the Lancastrian sequence; one example is Erasmus's "the better the nature of the soil, the more it is wasted and filled with weeds" (p.145), which appears to inform King Henry's troubled rumination on his son: "Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds" (2 Henry IV, IV.iii.54). Erasmus's thoughts on kingship were available in many other of his works including The Praise of Folly (1511), which had been translated into English in 1549, and his Adages (1515), particularly "Aut fatuum aut regem nasci oportere".

24 See Christian Prince on prince as physician, pp.224, 236, 188-89; on avoiding flatterers, pp.193-204; on overtaxing the Commons, pp.215-20; on tyranny and law-

breaking, pp.164, 220-34; on princely husbandry, p.247; on the necessity of benevolence towards the people, p.181.

25 E.H.Kantorowicz, The Kings Two Bodies: a study in medieval political theology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

26 Marie Axton, The Queen's Two Bodies (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

27 Raman Selden, "Richard II and the politics of kingship," Critical Essays on "Richard II", ed. L.Cookson and B.Loughrey (Essex: Longman Literature Guides, 1989) p.108, has argued this point very convincingly.

28 Harold F.Brooks, "Shakespeare and The Governor, Bk.II, Ch.xiii. Parallels with Richard II and the More Addition," Shakespeare Quarterly 14 (1963): pp.195-99. E.M.W Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948) p.277; Tillyard felt it likely that Prince Hal was shaped by "the class of courtly manual to which The Governor belongs and of which Castiglione's Cortegiano was the most famous example". As we have seen, Elyot himself aligned his text with Erasmus's important book of moral and political philosophy aimed at reforming the manners of princes and nobles, not "courtly manuals". See also note 23 above; Castiglione's book does not feature in Vives' and Humphrey's lists of "mirrours" to be read by English princes.

29 This sixteenth-century view of the fallen human condition as a natural inclining towards internal and external strife is very different from that proposed by Tillyard in 1948. Tillyard maintained that "God's ordering and sustaining will" (p.11) was imagined by the Elizabethans as essential to maintaining order--"the norm to which disorder ... was yet the exception" (p.21). Clearly a substantial number of them believed, rather, that order--since the Fall--could only be maintained through constant human (as opposed to divine) endeavours.

30 A prime example of this is Hotspur's ridiculing of Glyndwr's self-aggrandisement through the humorous image of "Diseased nature" troubled with excess "wind" (1 Henry IV, III.i.25-33). Andrew Gurr, "Paradigms or conceits? Metaphors of the State in Sixteenth-century England," Literature and History 3:1 (1994): p.1, discusses the sounding of "cautionary notes over self-indulgent uses of metaphor" (particularly body-state analogies) by Francis Bacon and William Perkins.

31 Raphael Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande vol.2 (1) (of 2, 2-part vols.; London, 1577) section 20 p.1098.

32 See note 6 above.

33 On Richard II's exposure of the frailty of orthodox Tudor political ideology, see Graham Holderness, "Shakespeare's History: Richard II," Literature and History 7-8 (1981-2): pp.19, 21; Roy Battenhouse, "Tudor Doctrine and the Tragedy of Richard II," Rice University Studies 60:2 (1974): pp.31-53; Allan Bloom, "Richard II," Shakespeare as Political Thinker, eds. J.Alvis and T.West (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1981) pp.51-61; Calvin Thayer, Shakespearean Politics: Government and Misgovernment in the Great Histories (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983) pp.1-61.

34 On the Elizabethan implications of Richard's disregard for law see Donna B.Hamilton, "The State of Law in Richard II," Shakespeare Quarterly 34 (1983): pp.7-9.

35 John Milton, Areopagitica in Complete Prose Works Revised ed., vol.II (8 vols.; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980) p.527.

II THE "PLAGUY" BODY

Chapter 3

1 Thomas Dekker, London Looke Backe (London, 1630) sig.A4v.

2 Thomas Dekker, The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie (London, 1604) sigs.A3r, Arv; Thomas Dekker, The Wonderfull yeare (London, 1603) sigs.D1v, D2v, D3v, D4r; Thomas Dekker, Newes from Graves-end (London, 1604) sig.Fl1v.

3 William Bullein, A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull, wherein is a godlie regiment against the Fever Pestilence, with a consolation and comforte againste death (London, 1573) pp.53, 56. The 1573 ed. contains Bullein's additions, such as the utopia, and emendations; and, unlike the later ed. was published in his lifetime suggesting that this might be the most accurate (in terms of authorial intention) of the two extended versions. I have compared it with the 1564 and 1578 editions in the British Library and have drawn attention to significant variations.

4 See above, Introduction, pp.11-13.

5 Charles T.Gregg, Plague: An Ancient Disease in the Twentieth Century, revised ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), pp.113-28. Gregg is a microbiologist researching 'Y.Pestis'.

6 Paul Slack, Impact p.7.

7 Gregg, pp.166-69.

- 8 Philip Ziegler, The Black Death, paperback rpt. from 1st ed. (1969; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1971) pp.13-29.
- 9 Thomas Dekker, The Blacke and White Rod (London, 1630) sig.A4r; London Looke Backe sig.A3r; Thomas Dekker, A Rod for Run-awayes (London, 1625) sigs.B1r, C4r, D2v.
- 10 Carlo M.Cippola makes this point in Miasmas and Disease (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) p.7.
- 11 Slack, Impact p.13.
- 12 The Bible (Geneva, 1562) f.52r. On the significance of Leviticus for understanding contagion, see above, pp.79-80.
- 13 See above, p.50.
- 14 Thomas Paynell, A Moche Profitable Treatise Against the Pestilence (London, 1534) sig.A2r.
- 15 Dives and Pauper, Part I, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, Early English Text Society, No.275 (London: Oxford University Press, 1976) Commandment I. xxviii. ll.74-75.
- 16 Corporation of London Record Office, Journal xv, ff.47v-49v, cited in Slack, Impact p.203.
- 17 See Richard Palmer, "The Church, leprosy and plague in medieval and early modern Europe," The Church and Healing, ed. W.J.Sheils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982) pp.79-99.
- 18 Slack, Impact p.148.
- 19 Slack, Impact pp.68, 151.
- 20 Slack, Impact p.23.
- 21 Raymond Crawford, Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art (London: Oxford University Press, Clarendon, 1914).
- 22 Crawford, p.8.
- 23 Cited in Crawford, p.7.
- 24 Homer, The Iliad, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) p.2.
- 25 Marvin W.Anderson, Evangelical Foundations, religion in England, 1378-1683, American University Studies, series VII: Theology and Religion, vol.33 (New York: Peter Lang, 1987) p.330.
- 26 See Siegfried Wenzel, "Pestilence and Middle English Literature: Friar John Grimestone's Poems on Death", The

Black Death: the Impact of the Fourteenth-Century Plague, ed. Daniel Williman (New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1982) p.145.

27 Cited in Wenzel, p.145.

28 Wenzel, p.149. Compare this with the "rhapsodic" view outlined in the Introduction, above, p.34.

29 Dives and Pauper, Part II, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, The Early English Text Society, no.280 (London: Oxford University Press, 1980) Commandment IX. ix. 11.12-21.

30 William Langland, The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman in three parallel texts, ed., W.W.Skeat, vol.1 (2 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1954) C. Passus VI. 11.114-16.

31 Everyman, in Everyman with other Interludes, ed. Ernest Rhys (London: J.M.Dent & Sons, 1909) p.5.

32 John Lydgate, "A Dietary, and a Doctrine for Pestilence", The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, Early English Text Society, Original Series No.192, vol.2 (2 vols; London: Oxford University Press, 1934) stanzas 1-3, p.702.

33 On the sermon 'exemplum' see G.R.Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp.149-209; and Ross, Introduction, Middle English Sermons lx.

34 Geoffrey Chaucer, The Pardoner's Tale in The Complete Works, ed. F.N.Robinson, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) l.675.

35 Henoah Clapham, An epistle discoursing upon the pestilence (London, 1603) sig.B2v.

36 Anderson, p.330.

37 In late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England there was no rigid dichotomy between plague and contagion mentalities: see Roy Porter's fascinating article, "Ever since Eve: the fear of contagion", Times Literary Supplement May 27-June 2 1988: p.582. Notions of contagion--through direct contact with other bodies and by inspiring infected air breathed out by someone in close proximity--co-existed with other naturalistic explanations and were readily incorporated into a providential overview of the plague. As we shall see in chapter four some commentators did reject contagion theories of plague as heretical and/or socially prejudicial, but to do so was to contest the establishment line and to risk imprisonment.

38 Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, trans. Rex Warner

- (1954; Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1966) p.124.
- 39 Crawford, p.95.
- 40 See above, p.58.
- 41 Giovanni Boccaccio, The Decameron, trans. G.H.McWilliam (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) p.54.
- 42 Dekker, A Rod for Run-awayes sig.C1r.
- 43 See Owst, p.150.
- 44 Zeigler, p.97.
- 45 "A Warning to be ware" in The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, Part II, ed. F.J.Furnivall, Early English Text Society vol.2 (2 vols; London: Kegan Paul, 1901) verse 8, p.719.
- 46 Kocher, p.243. Catherine Cole Mambretti, "William Bullein and the 'Lively Fashions' in Tudor Medical Literature," Clio Medica 9.4 (1974): p.289. Webster, "Alchemical and Paracelsian medicine" p.305.
- 47 William Mitchell, "William Bullein, Elizabethan Physician and Author", Medical History 3 (1959): p.198.
- 48 Sigerist, p.184.
- 49 C.S.Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) p.292. Albert Baugh, A Literary History of England (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1948) p.413.
- 50 In "Montaigne, Cannibals and Grottoes"--a lecture at University College London (October 16 1992)--Carlo Ginzburg discussed the phenomenon of 'Mannerism' in relation to the literature and architecture of the sixteenth century. Ginzburg described literary Mannerism in terms of "a badly joined wooden inlay" characterized by variety, extravagance and aesthetic transgression.
- 51 Norbrook, Poetry and Politics p.44.
- 52 Norbrook, Poetry and Politics p.14. This point was also stressed by Alan Sinfield in Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660 (London: Croom Helm, 1983).
- 53 See above, p.115.
- 54 Thomas Starkey, A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset, ed.T.F.Mayer (London: Royal Historical Society University College, 1989) p.56.
- 55 Henry VIII, A copy of the letters wherin ... Henry the eight ... made answer unto a certayn letter of Martyn

Luther (London, n.d.) sig.A6.

56 Thomas More, "Letter to Firth", The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More, ed. E.F.Rogers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947) p.441.

57 "A Supplycacion to our moste Soveraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght" (1544), in Four Supplications, ed. F.J.Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series No.13 (London: N.Trubner & Co., 1871) p.47. All citations from the Commons Supplications are to this edition.

58 "A Supplication of the poore Commons" (1546), title-page: "Who so stoppeth his eare at the crynge of the poore, he shall crye hym selfe, and shall not be heard".

59 Slack, Impact p.292. Norbrook, Poetry and Politics p.52, has drawn attention to the fact that many of the rebels elsewhere in the country in the 1540s were actually protesting against religious reform rather than (as the Supplications imply) endorsing it.

60 See below pp.285-92.

61 Cited in John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it, vol.1 (3 vols; London, 1721) Appendix lxxxiii. p.208.

62 See Hale, p.57.

63 Thomas Phayre, The Regiment of Life (London, 1545), sig.L3v.

64 See Hoeniger, P.24.

65 DNB pp.244-46.

66 These two regimens were discussed in chapter 1.

67 See above p.45.

68 John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, ed. S.R.Cattley vol.VI (8 vols; London, 1841) p.57. On the "triple bulwark", see Norbrook, Poetry and Politics p.36; and John King, English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982) p.277: neither of these critics discusses Bullein's writings.

69 Elizabeth McCutcheon, "William Bullein's Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence: A Sixteenth-Century Anatomy," in Miscellanea moreana, essays for German Marc hadour, eds. Clare M.Murphy, Henri Gibaud, Mario A.D.Cesare, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol.61 (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989) pp.341-59.

70 Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957) pp.310-11.

71 Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene employs comparable "alienation effects" to problematize the act of reading; see Norbrook, Poetry and Politics p.111.

72 C.S.Lewis, p.292

73 Wright, p.42.

74 Thomas Nashe, "Address to the reader," Have With you to Saffron Walden (London, 1596).

75 See Owst pp.529-539; and John Peter, Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) p.80.

76 Ian W.Archer, The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p.4.

77 Sermon 31 in Ross, Middle English Sermons p.157, is interesting on the bad smell of sinful people.

78 For a discussion of the Wittenberg attack on atheism and Epicurean atomism, see Vivian Nutton, "Wittenberg anatomy," p.20. Paracelsians argued in an even stronger vein that curing powers were granted by God only to those Christians "genuinely subscribing to the apostolic faith," see Webster, "Paracelsus" p.65.

79 Thomas G.Benedek, "The Influence of Ulrich Von Hutten's Medical Descriptions and Metaphorical Use of Medicine," Bulletin of the History of Medicine 66:1 (Spring 1992): pp.355-75.

80 On this point regarding Bale and Foxe, see Norbrook, Poetry and Politics p.41.

81 Julia Gasper, The Dragon and the Dove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) pp.158-59.

82 See, for example, Bostocke, Auncient and Later Phisicke.

83 Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660 (London: Duckworth, 1975).

84 See especially, Three Laws (1530-8) in Dramatic Writings of John Bale, ed. John S.Farmer (London: Privately printed for subscribers to the Early English Drama Society, 1907); for autobiographical information see Farmer, p.300-04.

85 M.G.Davies, The Enforcement of the English Apprenticeship 1563-1642 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ.

Press, 1956) p.31; W.H.Price, The English Patents of Monopoly (London: Constable, 1906) pp.9, 15-16.

86 Jean-Christophe Agnew, Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p.32. William McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976) p.236, has drawn attention to the intimate relation between pilgrimages (as spiritual quests and quests for physical health) and plagues (the poor hygiene arrangements and close confinement of people associated with pilgrimages also attracted epidemic disease).

87 S.T.Bindoff, Tudor England (Middlesex: Pelican, 1950) pp.107-8.

88 D.M.Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth (New York: Longman, 1983) p.19.

89 Quoted in Ernest B.Gilman, Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986) p.35.

90 Quoted in Gilman, p.39.

91 On Foxe's and Humphrey's positions see Norbrook, Poetry and Politics p.63. Bullein, like Humphrey, appears to have been a staunch supporter of hereditary aristocracy. The authoritative persona, Humphrey, in The Governement of Healthe, is possibly modelled on Lawrence Humphrey.

Chapter 4

1 The word "base" is used by both Thomas Lodge, see above p.70, and John Ivie, below, p.198. Clowes's locutions--see above pp.67-69--are a prime example of this.

2 All the Royal Proclamations cited in this chapter are in one unpaginated volume in the British Library: Proclamations etc. (1602-9). BL. c.112.h1.

3 Slack, Impact p.154.

4 Slack, Impact p.71.

5 Slack, Impact p.154.

6 John Stow, The Survey of London, 1598 (London: Dent, 1956) p.376.

7 Roger Finlay and Beatrice Shearer, "Population growth and suburban expansion," The Making of the Metropolis, London 1500-1700, eds. A.L.Beier and R.Finlay (London: Longman, 1986) p.45.

8 Slack, Impact p.73.

9 Thomas Wright, Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters, vol.1 (2 vols; London: Henry Colburn, 1838) pp.166-67.

10 See Steven Mullaney, The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England (London: University of Chicago, 1988) p.49. Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, vol.2, part 1 (3 vols; London: Routledge, 1963) p.86, confirms that riots occurred often enough to cause anxiety to officials.

11 James VI, Basilicon Doron pp.46, 49.

12 See above, p.102.

13 Cited by Slack, Impact p.229.

14 Roger B.Manning, Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) p.187.

15 Cited in Archer, p.1.

16 Archer, p.7.

17 Archer, p.198.

18 See below, p.197, the work of the constables. On late sixteenth-century vagrancy see also A.L.Beier, Masterless Men, the vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640 (London: Methuen, 1985).

19 Paul Slack, "Poverty and Social Regulation in Elizabethan England," The Reign of Elizabeth I, ed. Christopher Haigh (1984; London: Macmillan, 1991) p.226.

20 Cited by Archer, p.223.

21 Letter from Sir Nicolas Woodrofe to Lord Burghley, June 17 1580, in "The Remembrancia," Dramatic Records of the City of London, in Collections: Part I, ed. E.K.Chambers and W.W.Gregg (London: Oxford University Press for the Malone Society, 1907) p.48.

22 H.Townshend, Historical Collections, an Exact Account of the Last four Parliaments of Elizabeth (London, 1680) p.325.

23 Cited by Slack, Impact p.305.

24 See above, pp.65-66.

25 See above, pp.68-69, 73-76.

- 26 Slack, Impact p.303. My discussion of the plague Orders is indebted to Slack's unsurpassed account.
- 27 Slack, Impact p.215.
- 28 Slack, Impact p.213.
- 29 Slack, Impact p.211.
- 30 Slack, Impact p.211.
- 31 The phrase is Dekker's in The Wonderfull yeare sig.D1r.
- 32 Archer, p.259.
- 33 DNB.
- 34 Paul Slack, "Metropolitan Government in Crisis," The Making of The Metropolis p.64.
- 35 Douglas, p.4.
- 36 Douglas, p.5.
- 37 Slack, Impact p.302.
- 38 See Frank Freeman Foster, The Politics of Stability (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977) p.92.
- 39 Thomas Dekker, Worke For Armorours: Or, The Peace is Broken (London, 1609).
- 40 M.T.Jones-Davies, Un peintre de la vie Londonienne: Thomas Dekker, vol.2 (2 vols; Paris: Collection des Etudes Anglaises; Librairie Marcel Didier, 1958) pp. 400-01. E.D.Pendry, p.12.
- 41 Hunt, p.146.
- 42 Kate L.Gregg, "Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economic and Social Backgrounds," University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, vol. 2 (Seattle: University of Washington, 1924) p.91.
- 43 Una Ellis-Fermor, The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation (London: Methuen, 1936) pp.119-22.
- 44 George Sampson, The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941) p.256.
- 45 T.S.Eliot, Elizabethan Essays (London: Faber and Faber, 1927) p.155.
- 46 Sandra Clark, pp.112, 110.

- 47 Gasper, p.14.
- 48 See Pendry, Introduction, Thomas Dekker.
- 49 See above, p.171.
- 50 Pendry provides the clearest and fullest guide to these "facts".
- 51 For word-play on "crowns" see Sir Thomas Wyatt IV.i. in The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol.1 (4 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953-61).
- 52 See above, pp.128-29.
- 53 Entry in The Stationer's Register, 5th December 1603.
- 54 See Lorna Hutson, Thomas Nashe in Context (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) p.200.
- 55 Thomas Nashe, Christes Teares over Jerusalem (London, 1594) f.83r.
- 56 See Hutson, p.200.
- 57 Thomas Nashe, Pierce Penillesse his Supplication to the Devil (1592) in G.R.Hibbard, ed., Three Elizabethan Pamphlets (London: George Harrap, 1951) p.88.
- 58 See above p.140. Cited in Owst, p.150.
- 59 Ross, Introduction, p.lviii.
- 60 I am thinking particularly of Lucian's Menippus or the Descent into Hades, see below, p.222.
- 61 See, for example, The Wonderfull yeare sig.C4r; A Rod for Run-awayes sig.B4r.
- 62 See for example Dekker, The Wonderfull yeare sig.C4r, sig.C4v. Newes from Graves-end sig.E4r.
- 63 Everyman, p.25.
- 64 Lucian, Menippus or the Descent into Hades, in Lucian, trans. A.M.Harmon, vol.4 (8 vols.; London: William Heinemann, 1961) pp.77-78, 105.
- 65 Gasper, p.48.
- 66 Thomas Dekker, The Magnificent Entertainment (London, 1604) sig.B3r.
- 67 Dekker, The Blacke and White Rod sig.B1r-B3r.

68 Christopher Hooke, Sermons Preached in Paules Church, (London, 1603) sig.C3v.

69 "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do" (Luke, 23.34).

70 Frederick O.Waage, Thomas Dekker's Pamphlets, 1603-9, and Jacobean Popular Literature, vol.2 (2 vols.; Salzburg: Institut Fur Englische Sprache, 1977) p.492. Waage's useful economic analysis is based on readings of State Papers.

71 Kenneth Andrews, Trade, plunder and settlement (1460-1630) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p.313.

72 Thomas Milles, The Mistery of Iniquity (London, 1609) sig.D1r.

73 E.P.Thompson, "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century," Past and Present 50 (1971): pp.76-136.

III THE "POCKY" BODY

Chapter 5

1 Desiderius Erasmus, The Colloquies of Erasmus, ed. and trans. C.R.Thompson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) pp.408-09. All modern translations of Erasmus's Colloquies are cited from this edition.

2 Claude Quétel, History of Syphilis (Le Mal de Naples: histoire de la syphilis [1986]) trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990) p.2.

3 M.A.Waugh "Venereal diseases in sixteenth-century England", Medical History 17 (1973): Waugh remarks that there are only four British medical authors on venereal disease before 1600 compared with two hundred other European sources, p.192: English medical writers lagged behind by some fifty years, p.194.

4 Eric Partridge, Shakespeare's Bawdy, rpt. from 2nd ed. (1955; London: Routledge, 1956) p.20.

5 Ulrich Von Hutten, De Morbo Gallico, trans. Thomas Paynell (London, 1533) f.1r.

6 Richard Davenport-Hines, Sex, Death and Punishment (London: Collins, 1990) p.20.

7 J.Gibson, Modern Medicine (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972) pp.46-50.

8 See Erasmus, A Marriage in Name Only pp.410-11 and Inns p.150; Clowes, A short and profitable Treatise sig.B3r.

9 Peter Lowe, An Easie, certaine, and perfect method, to cure and prevent the Spanish sicknes (London, 1596) sig.B3r; Valerie Fildes, Wet Nursing (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) p.74, discusses the consequences of the knowledge of this hazard for the practice of wet nursing.

10 As early as 1500 the Valencian physician Pintor wrote that coitus with an infected woman was the principal cause of the infection; Quetel, p.17. See also Von Hutten, f.3r.

11 Thomas Dekker, The Dramatic Works, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol.II (4 vols; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955). All quotations from The Honest Whore Parts 1 and 2 are from this edition.

12 See particularly Davenport-Hines, p.21.

13 Von Hutten, f.2v, f.5r; Lowe, sig.B1v.

14 Anon. Nice Wanton (London, 1560) sig.B2r.

15 On syphilitic dementia see Quetel, p.160.

16 On the possible relation between witch-hunts and syphilis see especially, S. Andreski, Syphilis, Puritanism and Witch Hunts (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).

17 Palmer, "The Church" p.91.

18 Waugh, p.192.

19 Cited in Charles Creighton, A History of Epidemics in Britain, vol.1 (2 vols; London: Frank Cass, 1965) p.417. The word "eschevin" probably derives from "eschive", meaning to eschew; to shun: Dictionary of Archaic Words, ed. James Halliwell (1850; London: Bracken Books, 1989) p.339.

20 Creighton, p.418.

21 E.J.Burford, Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels (London: Peter Owen, 1976) pp.130-38.

22 Waugh p.195. Syphilis's inheritance of the biblical meanings of leprosy-like skin diseases (as can be inferred from the choice of "sweat" ward names at St.Thomas's) is discussed below, pp.275-76.

23 Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and reality: barber-surgeons, the body and disease," Beier and Finlay, p.92.

24 Ben Jonson, Epigram 7, Poems, ed. Ian Donaldson (London:

Oxford University Press, 1975) p.10.

25 Rene Girard, "The Politics of Desire in Troilus and Cressida," Shakespeare and the Question of Theory, eds. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (London: Methuen, 1985) pp.188-208. See Traub, p.75.

26 Ambrose Paré, Workes, trans. T.Johnson (London, 1634) p.736.

27 Sir William Davenant, "To Doctor Cademan, Physitian to the Queene," The Shorter Poems (Oxford: Gibbs, 1972) pp.51-52.

28 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, The Knight of the Burning Pestle in The Dramatic Works, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol.I (8 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1966).

29 See Pelling, p.92; and for emblem book representations see below, pp.337-38.

30 For a useful discussion of this, and other seventeenth-century literary representations, see Raymond A. Anselment, "Seventeenth-Century Pox: The Medical and Literary Realities of Venereal Disease", Seventeenth Century 3-4 (1988): pp.189-211.

31 Andrew Boord, The Breviary of Helthe (London, 1547).

32 Douglas, pp.115-21.

33 Douglas, p.29.

34 Francis Bacon, Sylva Sylvarum or A Naturall History in ten Centuries (London, 1627) century:1, note 26 unpag..

35 Girolamo Fracastoro, Syphilis sive morbus gallicus (1530), in Fracastoro's Syphilis trans. and ed. Geoffrey Eatough (Liverpool: F.Cairns, 1984).

36 See, especially, Bruce T.Boehrer, "Early Modern Syphilis," Journal of the History of Sexuality 1.2 (1990): pp.197-214.

37 Barnaby Rich, The Honestie of this Age (London, 1614) p.41.

38 Captain John Graunt, Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of mortality, 1662; cited in Creighton pp.428-29.

39 Pietro Mainardi, Epistola II and Michaellem Sanctannam (1525), col. 606, cited in Anna Foa, "The New and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis (1494-1530)," Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, trans. A.M. and C.Gallucci (Baltimore: John Hopkins

University Press, 1990) p.39.

40 Paracelsus, Chirurgia Magna, 1536 (Strasbourg, 1573) p.97.

41 Cited in Foa, p.39.

42 Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages trans. Matthew Adamson (1985; Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988) pp.177-179. The Cambridge World History of Human Disease, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp.310-11. J.Verano and D.Ubelaker, Disease and Demography in the Americas (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1992) p.162.

43 Gilman, pp.1-6.

44 J.D.Rolleston, "Venereal Disease in Literature," British Journal of Venereal Diseases 10 (1934): pp.147-73. Quotation is from p.150.

45 Davenport-Hines, p.26; Boehrer p.203.

46 Palmer, "The Church", provides a comprehensive account of these.

47 See above, p.78. Calvin, The Institution (1561) I.I.3. f.1v.

48 Sebastian Brant, title-page woodcut accompanying the verse broadsheet, De pestilentiali scorra sive mala de Franzos. Eulogium (1496), reproduced in Davenport-Hines, p.27.

49 Albrecht Durer, woodcut accompanying a broadside by Theodoricus Ulsenius (1496), reproduced in Gilman, p.249.

50 See, for example, the woodcut accompanying a broadside entitled, On the Pox called Malafrantzosa (1500), reproduced in Quetel, p.254.

51 Davenport-Hines, p.16.

52 Robert Henryson, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H.Harvey Wood, 2nd ed. (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1958).

53 Harvey Wood, Introduction, p.xi. Saul Nathaniel Brody, The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature (London: Cornell University Press, 1974), has described how medieval literature consistently represents leprosy as the disease of deceit: the "false deception" associated with leprosy appears to have been inherited by syphilis.

54 Quoted in Harvey Wood, Introduction, p.xii.

55 "Luce Irigaray" in New French Feminisms: An Anthology, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (Brighton: Harvester, 1981) p.101.

56 On the erotic combination--sex, pain, death--See George Bataille, Eroticism (1962; London: Marion Boyars, 1987).

57 Quetel, p.54.

58 Douglas, p.3.

59 U.Naich, "Per Dio, Tu Sei Cortese," The Anthologies of Black-note Madrigals, ed. D.Harran (Hansler-Verlag: Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 73, 1978) p.lxi.

60 E.Panofsky, "Homage to Fracastoro in a Germano-Flemish Composition of about 1590," Nederlands Kunthistorisch Jaarboek xii (1961): pp.1-33.

61 On the reception and translation of the Colloquies in England, see: P.S.Allen, Selections from Erasmus (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1918) p.15. Baldwin, William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greek, vol.1, pp.118-119, 129 and 735. Baldwin asserts, "These dialogues evidently had a powerful influence on English literature, and demand much more than the cursory attention they have yet received" p.735. Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660 (London: Frank Cass, 1968) pp.328-329 stresses the importance of colloquies, generally, and particularly of Erasmus's Colloquies, as pedagogic tools in the Grammar schools. M.L.Clarke, Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) p.47. Sir J.Sandys, Shakespeare's England, vol.1 (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917) p.234.

62 Dickie A.Spurgeon, Introduction, Tudor Translations of the Colloquies of Erasmus (1536-1584), ed. Spurgeon (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, Inc., 1972) p.vii. Where a Tudor translation of the dialogue under discussion is available, I have quoted from it. Included in Spurgeon's volume are facsimiles of The Epicurean and The Young Man and the Harlot: A very Pleasaunt & Fruitful Diologe Called the Epicure (1545), trans. Philip Gerrard; Of the yong Man and the evill disposed Woman (1568), trans. Nicholas Leigh. All citations, unless otherwise stated, are to these editions. Page numbers in the text refer to Spurgeon's volume.

63 Erasmus, "De Utilitate Colloquiorum", quoted in Thompson's introduction to The Young man and the Harlot. "De Utilitate" was Erasmus's defence against a charge of lasciviousness for writing this colloquy.

64 Erasmus, "Ratio verae Theologiae", Ausgewahlte Werke, ed. H.Holborn and A.Holborn (Munich: C.H.Beck, 1964) ll.25-28, p.204; cited in Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, Rhetoric and

Reform: Erasmus's Civil Dispute With Luther (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983) p.132.

65 Erasmus, "Pio Lectore", Evangelium Matthaei paraphrasis, Opera omnia, ed. J.Clericus, vol.VII (11 vols.; Leiden, 1703-1706) n.p.; cited in Boyle, p.136.

66 Erasmus, "Spongia", Opera omnia, X, 1659A, 1650F; cited in Boyle, p.136.

67 Desiderius Erasmus, Seven Dialogues Both Pithie and Profitable, trans. William Burton (London, 1606)Ⓞ sig.L2r.

68 In Furnivall, Four Supplications, 1529-1553, p.6.

69 William Turner, A newe booke of Spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande (1555) f.72v.

70 Cited in Davenport-Hines, p.33.

71 John Milton, The readie and easie way to establish a free Commonwealth (the second edition, 1660), in Complete Prose Works revised ed., vol.VII (8 vols. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980) pp.452-453.

72 Cited in A Companion to Medical Studies, ed. R.Passmore and J.S. Robson, vol.3 (3 vols.; Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publishers, 1974) section 13.

73 Leavy, p.87.

74 Jean Alfred Fournier, Syphilis and Marriage, trans. P.Albert Morrow (New York, 1881) p.5.

75 Anon., A Preaty Interlude called, "Nice Wanton" (London, 1560); and Lewis Wager, A new Enterlude ... entreating of the Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene (London, 1567). Although neither of these plays was licensed for printing until Elizabeth I's reign, Lewis Wager's reference to "the kynge" in his Prologue, and the alteration of the conventional epilogue in praise of the monarch in Nice Wanton, indicate that both plays were almost certainly originally performed at the Edwardian court. John King convincingly argues this case, p.300.

76 On the creative tension and pleasure inherent in narratives of misdemeanour and repentance, see Kathleen McLuskie, "Lawless desires well tempered," Erotic Politics, ed. Zimmerman, p.106.

77 King, p.283.

78 King, p.283.

79 See chapter one, pp.77-79. Paul Whitfield White, Theatre

and Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) discusses this Interlude's dramatization of Protestant doctrine but does not comment on the significance of the Pox symbolism which is so vital to its design and impact.

Chapter 6

1 Thomas Dekker, Lanthorne and Candle-light, 1608, 2nd.ed. "newly corrected and amended" (London, 1609) sig.G6v.

2 Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch (1970; London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1971) pp.210-11. Greer assumes that The Batchelar's Banquet (1603) a translation of a work by Antoine de la Sale, was by Dekker; Gasper, p.12, points out that this attribution was rejected by F.P.Wilson in 1929 and that subsequent scholars have agreed with Wilson.

3 The exaggerated Elizabethan 'blazon' and 'contreblazon'-- catalogues of female attributes or detractions--ostensibly emerged from the fashion for Petrarchism and parodies of it; for an incisive critique of the male rhetorician's "shield of eloquence" see Nancy Vickers, "'The blazon of sweet beauty's best': Shakespeare's Lucrece," Shakespeare and the Question of Theory, ed. P.Parker and G.Hartman (New York: Methuen, 1985) pp.95-112. See also Patricia Parker, Literary Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property (London and New York: Methuen) pp. 126-54.

4 John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit Verie Pleasant for all Gentlemen to reade and most necessary to remember (London, 1587) sig.N1r.

5 Stephen Gosson, Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, Or a Glasse to View the Pride of Vainglorious Women (London, 1595) sig.A4r.

6 Examining the "sexually-pre-occupied satire" of the 1590s, William Keach has provided a useful discussion of this problematic form which necessitates the detailed engagement with, and portrayal of, the very activities and type of rhetoric that the writer is attacking: William Keach, Elizabethan Erotic Narratives (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1977) pp.125-32. See also, D.J.Campbell, Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida" (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1938) p.44; and Alvin Kernan, The Cankered Muse (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959) pp.24-25.

7 Barnaby Rich, The Excellency of Good Women (London, 1613) p.32.

8 See chapter one, p.69.

- 9 Cited in the appendix to Stubbes, Anatomy of The Abuses in Shakespeare's Youth, ed. F.J.Furnivall (London: New Shakespeare Society, 1877-79) p.281.
- 10 Archer, p.232.
- 11 Cited in Archer, p.229.
- 12 See, for example, Townshend, p.325.
- 13 Archer, p.211.
- 14 Hugh Latimer, "Sixth Sermon Preached Before King Edward the Sixth," in Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester, ed. George Corrie, vol.2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844) p.196.
- 15 Thomas Dekker, Newes from Hell: Brought by the Divells Carrier (London, 1606) sig.B2r.
- 16 Thomas Dekker, Dekker His Dreame (London, 1620) f.33r.
- 17 Henslowe's Diary, ed. R.A.Foakes and R.T.Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) p.209.
- 18 For a discussion of the textual scholars' views regarding attribution see Cyrus Hoy, Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to Texts in "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker" II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) pp. 3-8.
- 19 STC2 entries 6501-06.
- 20 William Burton, Preface, Seven Dialogues Both Pithie and Profitable by D.Erasmus (London, 1606) sig.A5r.
- 21 Hoy, pp.10-11.
- 22 See "The Unjust Man," The Republic of Plato XXXII. p.299: "Soon he will be borrowing ... and when all resources fail, the lusty brood of appetites will crowd about him clamouring. Goaded on to frenzy by them Money he must have, no matter how.
- 23 Hoy, pp. 12, 13, 70-71 provides a synopsis of earlier critics' views on this point and explains what he perceives as the "change" and "reversal" in Hippolito's character entirely in terms of the plot requirements of Part 2.
- 24 The troubling implications of desiring to be "pleasure's usurer" are highlighted by the image in the lower right-hand corner of the Dance of Death, Fig.2, which is discussed in the conclusion to this thesis.
- 25 James Orchard Halliwell, Dictionary of Archaic Words 1850, modern ed.(London: Bracken Books, 1989) p.409, offers

the nineteenth-century term for a toilet--"jakes"--for "gongee".

26 The emotive term "misogynist" is a problematic one to use in relation to people and societies with very different gender-power relations from our own. The phrase "anti-feminist" favoured by some critics when discussing pre-modern writers whose rhetoric is abusive to women may be less charged but it is anachronistic. Whilst I feel it is sometimes appropriate to talk about misogynist writing of the early modern period, and misogynist personae and characters in plays, I am uneasy about the word being applied to the men who penned these negative constructions. The complex issues surrounding "reading misogyny" are debated in Misogyny, Misandry, and Misanthropy, ed. R.Howard Bloch and Frances Ferguson (California: University of California Press, 1989) see especially pp.6-9.

27 See above, p.300.

28 See Andrew Gurr, Playgoing in Shakespeare's London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p.57.

29 I cannot agree with Kathleen McLuskie's conclusion in Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists (Houndsmills: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1994) p.118, that in The Honest Whore, "ultimately the blame for sexuality is placed on women".

30 On this point see Kathleen McLuskie, "The patriarchal bard," Dollimore and Sinfield, p.104; McLuskie, Renaissance Dramatists (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989) pp.41, 48, 228-29; and McLuskie, Dekker and Heywood p.125. On prescribed female behaviour see Suzanne W. Hull, Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640 (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982) p.142.

31 Francis Quarles, "Emblem 88" in Charles Moseley, A Century of Emblems, an introductory anthology (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989).

32 George Withers, A Collection of Emblemes Ancient and Modern (London, 1635).

33 John Webster, The White Devil, ed. Elizabeth Bennan, in Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedies: A New Mermaid Anthology (Tonbridge: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1984).

34 James Grantham Turner, One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

35 Martin Luther, Lectures on Genesis, Luther's Work's, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, vol.1 (8 vols.; St.Louis: Concordia Press, 1958) p.161.

36 Turner, p.121.

37 On the contentious issue of the increasing "effectiveness", or not, of early modern women and the relation of this to male verbal abuse, see Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1983) p.93; McLuskie, Renaissance Dramatists pp.225, 228; Jonathan Dollimore, Radical Tragedy (Brighton: Harvester, 1984) p.239; Robert Brustein, "The Monstrous Regiment of Women," Renaissance and Modern Essays, ed. G.R.Hibbard (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966) pp.37-38; Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women have a Renaissance?," Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. R.Bridenthall and C.Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1977) pp. 137-64.

38 Aemilia Lanyer, "Salve Deus . .," The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse 1509-1659, ed. D. Norbrook and H. Woudhuysen (London: Penguin, 1993) pp.556-58. Isotta Nogarola, "De pari aut impari Evaee atque adae peccato," Her Immaculate Hand, ed. and trans. M.King and A.Rabil (Binghamton N.Y.: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1983), pp.57-59.

39 Jane Anger, Jane Anger: her Protection for Women (1589), ed. Simon Shepherd in The Women's Sharp Revenge (London: Fourth Estate, 1985) pp.29-46.

40 See Shepherd, p.30; and The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print, ed. Anne Haselkorn and Betty Travitsky (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1990) p.352.

41 It is a generally held view that women only began to voice anxieties about their own vulnerability to syphilis infection through loose male sexual activity, in print, in the 1890s with the emergence of fin-de-siecle feminism: see, for example, Elaine Showalter, "Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Fiction of the Fin de Siecle," Sex, Politics, and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Novel, ed. Ruth B.Yeazell (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986) pp.88-115. If Jane Anger was female (and not a man writing under a pseudonym) one woman at least was spurred into expressing her concern--albeit obliquely--three-hundred years earlier.

42 Cited in Gurr, p.92.

43 Alexander Leggatt, Jacobean Public Theatre (London: Routledge, 1992) p.152, describes Hippolito's "extended flights of oratory" as functioning to satisfy a Jacobean audience's "taste for sermons".

44 The Elder Seneca I 'Controversiae i-vi', trans. and ed. Michael Winterbottom (London: William Heinemann, 1974). Among the titles are: "The Unchaste Woman thrown down the rock"; "The Prostitute Priestess"; "The Man who Raped two girls"; "The Ravisher who failed to win over his father."

45 Cited in Joel Altman, The Tudor Play of Mind (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1978) p.34. Altman provides a helpful discussion of the Renaissance interest in, and use of, the declamatory art, pp.32-34. A declamation by Erasmus--De morte declamation--was published in English in 1531.

46 Winterbottom, introduction xi-xxiv; see also editorial comments in Ancient Literary Criticism ed. D.Russell and M.Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) pp.344-81.

47 See, for example, Lorraine Helms, "The Saint in the Brothel: Or, Eloquence Rewarded," Shakespeare Quarterly 41.3 (1990): pp.319-32.

48 For interesting discussions regarding the relation between disease and eroticism, see George Bataille, Eroticism (1962; London: Marion Boyars, 1987); and Frank Mort, Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830 (London: RKP, 1987). McLuskie, Dekker and Heywood, p.179, has drawn attention to the fact that The Honest Whore was produced in Raymond's Revue Bar (a strip club) in 1992.

49 Theorists of eroticism such as Bataille tend to argue the opposite: that the association of religious contexts with transgressive possibilities heightens the erotic charge (for some people). See Bataille, p.36.

50 See above, p.297.

51 Gilman, p.1.

52 Stephen Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations: the circulation of social energy in Renaissance England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) p.6; Gilman, p.2. Traub, p.80, discusses the idea of disease "projection" in relation to the circulation of "desire and anxiety" in Troilus and Cressida, p.80: her thesis is informed by Sander Gilman's.

53 Leah S.Marcus, Puzzling Shakespeare: local reading and its discontents (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p.162. In her discussion of the historical and political contexts of this play, Marcus does not mention the syphilis symbolism which runs throughout it, colouring and helping to define its veiled political meanings.

54 See above, p.315.

55 Marcus, pp.163, 174.

56 Marcus, p.191.

57 Marcus, p.193.

58 Barroll, p.194.

59 John Wilders, Introduction, The BBC TV Shakespeare: Pericles, (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1984) p.14.

60 Gilman, p.8.

61 Ben Jonson, "Ode to Himself" (1629) inveighed against the palate of contemporary audiences who preferred, "Some Mouldy tale/ Like Pericles", to plays such as his The New Inn.

62 see above, p.257.

63 Andrea Alciati's Emblemata (Lyons, 1550) contains a horrific emblem--"Nupta contagioso"--which was almost certainly informed by Erasmus's colloquy. It depicts an ancient tyrant's punishment of a man by tying him to a corpse; the accompanying poem compares this action with that of a father who marries his daughter to a syphilitic.

64 Constance Relihan, "Liminal Geography: Pericles and the Politics of Place," Philological Quarterly 71.3 (Summer 1992): pp.281-99.

65 See above, pp.236-50.

66 Relihan, p.292.

67 See, for example, Spurgeon, p.231. Probably for reasons of "good taste" Spurgeon does not mention venereal disease at all, though she does remark how "images of the plague up to the year 1600 are light ... (and shock by their lack of good taste) whereas after 1600 every one of them is serious".

68 For example, Rolleston, pp.158-59.

69 Partridge, p.20; Wolfgang Clemen, The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery, 1951, 2nd edition (1977; London: Methuen, 1987) p.173.

70 Clemen, p.173.

71 Partridge, p.20.

72 Colman, p.112.

73 Bentley, pp.2-4. Frankie Rubinstein, "They were Not Such Good Years," Shakespeare Quarterly 40 (1989): p.70.

74 Bentley, pp.3-4.

75 Traub, p.73. Belsey, p.92.

76 Belsey, p.96.

77 Belsey, pp.93, 98: "The body exceeds itself and runs over indifferently with semen and with disease".

78 See above, p.297, and note 76, chapter 5.

Conclusion.

1 Philip Moore, An Almanach and Prognostication for 40 years, specially for Phisicions, Chyrurgians (London, 1567) sig.G1r. The almanac was reissued in 1570, 1571, 1573 and 1580; its predictions fizzle out ominously in 1606 with a "fearfull Eclipse of the Sonne".

2 Bullein wrote a flattering preface to Moore's regimen, The hope of health (1565).

3 See A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence, pp.6, 116; and above, pp. 167, 180. It is, I think, significant that the note of optimism which is present in The Wonderfull yeare is associated with hopes (which remained unrealized) for the new monarch proving a staunch supporter of the militant Protestant cause.

4 Pendry, p.21; Clark, p.112.

5 Bakhtin, p.272.

6 Ricks, p.115, see Introduction, p.34.

7 Bullein, A Dialogue p.7; Dekker's The Honest Whore 1.II.i.263.

8 Deceit in Dante's Inferno (Canto XVII) has furry paws; and the image of Deceit in Bronzino's Allegory of Love (1545) has griffin-like paws and a scorpion-like sting in her tail; this painting also contains a depiction of a victim of syphilis.

9 Bullein, A Dialogue p.7.

10 William Turner, A new herball (London, 1551) sig.A2r.

11 Plutarch's Table Talk VIII.9:731D, quoted in Nutton, "The Seeds of Disease," p.7.

12 Douglas, p.120.

13 Johnson, Preface xv.

14 See particularly Naomi Quinn, "The Cultural Basis of

Metaphor" in Fernandez, pp.56-93.

15 Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution paperback rpt. from 1st ed.(1965; New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) pp.7-8; Hill quotes M.H.Carre, Phases of Thought in England (1949), on this point.

16 Sinfield, p.19.

17 Kevin Sharpe, Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England (London: Pinter, 1989) p.104.

18 Terry Eagleton, "The historian as body-snatcher," rev. of Learning to Curse, by Stephen J.Greenblatt, Times Literary Supplement 18 Jan. 1991: p.7.

19 Sontag, Illness as Metaphor (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1977) p.3.

20 Eagleton, p.7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Alciata, Andrea. Emblemata. Lyons, 1550.
- Anger, Jane. Jane Anger: her Protection for Women. 1589.
in The Women's Sharp Revenge. Ed. Simon Shepherd.
London: Fourth Estate, 1985.
- Bacon, Francis. Of the proficiencie and advancement of
learning, divine and humane. London, 1605.
- , Sylva Sylvarum or A Naturall History in ten
Centuries. London, 1627.
- Bale, John. Dramatic Writings of John Bale. Ed. John
S.Farmer. London: the Early English Drama Society,
1907.
- Balmford, James. A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues
Infection. London, 1603.
- Beaumont, Francis, and John Fletcher. The Knight of the
Burning Pestle. The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont
and Fletcher Canon. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Vol.1.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966. 8 vols.
- Becon, Thomas. The Pomander of Prayer. London, 1558.
- The Bible. Geneva, 1562.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. The Decameron. Trans. G.H.McWilliam.
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
- Boord, Andrew. The Breviary of Helthe. London, 1547.
- Bostocke, R. Auncient and Later Phisicke. London, 1585.
- Buchanan, George. Baptistes. A Critical Edition of George
Buchanan's "Baptistes". Ed. Steven Berkowitz. New
York and London: Garland, 1992.
- , De Jure Regni Apud Scotos. 1579. Trans. Charles
F.Arrowood. The Powers of the Crown in Scotland.
Austin: The University of Austin Press, 1949.
- Bullein, William. A newe booke Entituled the Governement
of Healthe. London, 1558.
- , Bullein's Bulwarke of defence against all Sicknes,
Sornes, and woundes. London, 1562.
- , A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull, wherin is a

- godlie regiment against the Fever Pestilence, with a consolation and comforte againste death. London, 1573.
- Burton, William. Seven Dialogues both Pithie and Profitable. London, 1606.
- Caius, John. A boke, or counseill against the disease commonly called the sweate. London, 1552.
- Calvin, John. The Institution of Christian Religion. 1536. London, 1561.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Complete Works. Ed. F.N.Robinson. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Cheyne, George. The English Malady, or, A Treatise of Nervous diseases of all kinds. London, 1733.
- Clapham, Henoeh. An Epistle discoursing upon the pestilence. London, 1603.
- Clowes, William. A Short and profitable Treatise touching the cure of the disease called (Morbus Gallicus) by Uctions. London, 1579.
- Cogan, Thomas. The Haven of Health. London, 1584.
- Davenant, William. The Shorter Poems. Oxford: Gibbs, 1972.
- Dekker, Thomas. The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. Ed. Fredson Bowers. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953-61.
- , The Wonderfull yeare. London, 1603.
- , Newes from Graves-end. London, 1604.
- , The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie. London, 1604.
- , The Magnificent Entertainment. London, 1604.
- , Newes from Hell: Brought by the Divells Carrier. London, 1606.
- , Worke For Armourours: Or, The Peace is Broken. London, 1609.
- , Lanthorne and Candle-light. 1608. Rev. ed. London, 1609.
- , Dekker His Dreame. London, 1620.
- , A Rod for Run-awayes. London, 1625.

- , London Looke Backe. London, 1630.
- , The Blacke and White Rod. London, 1630.
- Dives and Pauper, Parts I and II. Ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum. 2 vols. Early English Text Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1976 and 1980.
- Donne, John. Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, and severall steps in my Sicknes. London, 1624.
- Drant, Thomas, A Medicinable Morall. London, 1566.
- Elyot, Thomas. The Book named The Governor. 1531. Ed. S.E.Lehmberg. London: Dent, 1962.
- , The Castel of Helth. London, 1534.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. The Education of a Christian Prince. 1516. Trans. Lester K.Born. New York: W.W.Norton & Co., 1968.
- , The Colloquies of Erasmus. Ed. and Trans. C.R.Thompson. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1965.
- , Tudor Translations of the Colloquies of Erasmus (1536-1584). Trans. Philip Gerrard and Nicholas Leigh. Ed. Dickie A.Spurgeon. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, Inc., 1972.
- Everyman with other Interludes. Ed. Ernest Rhys. London: J.M.Dent & Sons, 1909.
- Fish, Simon. A Supplicacyon for the Beggars. c.1529. Furnivall, Four Supplications pp.1-18.
- Fournier, Jean Alfred. Syphilis and Marriage. Trans. P.Albert Morrow. New York, 1881.
- Foxe, John. The Acts and Monuments of the Church. Ed. S.R.Cattley. Vol.6. London: R.B.Seeley and W.Burnside, 1841. 8 vols.
- Fracastoro, Girolamo. Syphilis sive morbus gallicus. 1530. Fracastoro's Syphilis. Trans. and Ed. Geoffrey Eatough. Liverpool: F.Cairns, 1984.
- Gerrard, Philip. The Epistle A very Pleasaunt & Fruitful Dialogue Called the Epicure. By Erasmus. Trans. Gerrard. London, 1545. Spurgeon, Tudor Translations pp.101-19.
- Gosson, Stephen. Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, Or a Glasse to View the Pride of vainglorious Women. London, 1595.

- Harington, John. The Englishman's Doctor OR, the Schoole of Salerne. London, 1607.
- Henry VIII. A copy of the letters wherin ... Henry the eight ... made answer unto a certayn letter of Martyn Luther. London, n.d.
- Henryson, Robert. The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson. Ed. Harvey Wood. 2nd ed. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1958.
- Henslowe's Diary. Eds. R.A.Foakes and R.T.Rickert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Heywood, Thomas. A Woman Killed With Kindness. Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies. Ed. K.Sturges. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1985.
- Hippocratic Writings. Ed. G.E.R.Lloyd. Trans. J.Chadwick and W.N.Mann. 1950. London: Penguin Classics, 1983.
- Holinshed, Raphael. Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande and Irelande. Vol.2(1). London, 1577. 4 vols.
- Homer. The Iliad. Trans. Robert Fitzgerald. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- An homilie against disobedience and wilfull rebellion. Appendix 3. King Richard II. Ed. Andrew Gurr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. pp.215-20.
- Hooke, Christopher. Sermons Preached in St.Paul's Church. London, 1603.
- Humphrey, Laurence. The Nobles: or of Nobilitie. London, 1563.
- Hunton, Philip. A Treatise of Monarchy. 1643. Divine Right and Democracy. Ed. David Wootton. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986. pp.175-211.
- Jonson, Ben. Poems. Ed. Ian Donaldson. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Kellwaye, Simon. A Defensative against the Plague. London, 1593.
- Knox, John. The History of the Reformation in Scotland. The Works. Ed. David Laing. Vol.1. Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1846. 7 vols.
- Langland, William. The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman in three parallel texts. Ed. W.W.Skeat.

- 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Lanyer, Aemilia. "Salve Deus ..." The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse 1509-1659. Ed. D.Norbrook and H.Woudhuysen. London: Penguin, 1993. pp.556-58.
- Latimer, Hugh. Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester. Ed. George Corrie. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844.
- Leigh, Nicholas. The Epistle. Of the yong Man and the evill disposed Woman. By Erasmus. Trans. Leigh. London, 1568. Spurgeon, Tudor translations p.307-12.
- Lodge, Thomas. A Treatise of the Plague. London, 1603.
- Lowe, Peter. An Easie, certaine, and perfect method, to cure and prevent the Spanish sicknes. London, 1596.
- Lucian. Menippus or the Descent into Hades. Lucian. Trans. A.M.Harmon. Vol.4. London: William Heinemann, 1961. pp.73-109. 8 vols.
- Lucretius. The Nature of Things. Trans. Frank Copley. New York: W.Norton, 1977.
- Luther, Martin. Lectures on Genesis, Luther's Works. Ed. Jaroslav Pelikan. Vol.1. St.Louis: Concordia Press, 1958. 8 vols.
- Lydgate, John. "A Dietary and a Doctrine for Pestilence." The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Ed. Henry Noble MacCracken. Vol.2. Early English Text Society. London: Oxford University press, 1934. pp.702-07. 2 vols.
- Lyly, John. Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit Verie Pleasant for all Gentlemen to reade and most necessary to remember. London, 1587.
- Manning, James. A New Booke intituled, I am for you all, Complexions castle. London, 1604.
- Marlowe, Christopher. Tamburlaine the Great. Ed. J.S.Cunningham. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981.
- Milles, Thomas. The Mistery of Iniquity London, 1609.
- Milton, John. Paradise Lost. Ed. Alastair Fowler. London: Longman, 1979.
- , Complete Prose Works. Gen.Ed. Don M.Wolfe. Revised ed. 8 vols. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1953-82.

- Moore, Philip. An Almanach and Prognostication for 40 years, specially for Phisicians, Chyrurgians. London, 1567.
- More, Thomas. The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More. Ed. E.F.Rogers. Princetown, 1947.
- Naich, U. "Per Dio, Tu Sei Cortese." The Anthologies of Black Note Madrigals. Ed. D.Harran. Hansler-Verlag: Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 73, 1978. p.lxi.
- Nashe, Thomas. Pierce Penillesse his Supplication to the Devil. 1592. Three Elizabethan Pamphleteers. Ed. G.R.Hibbard. London: George Harrap, 1951. pp.71-160.
- , Christes Teares over Jerusalem. London, 1594.
- , Have With you to Saffron Walden. London, 1596.
- Newton, Thomas. The Touchstone of Complexions. London, 1576.
- A Preaty Interlude called, Nice Wanton. London, 1560.
- Nogarola, Isotta. "De pari aut impari Evae ..." Her Immaculate Hand, selected works by and about the women humanists of Quattrocento Italy. Ed. and Trans. M.King and A.Rabil. Binghamton, N.Y.: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1983. pp.57-59.
- Ovid. Metamorphoses. Ovid's Metamorphoses: the Arthur Golding Translation, 1567. Ed. John F.Nims. London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965.
- Paracelsus. Chirurgia Magna. 1536. Strasbourg, 1573.
- Pare, Ambrose. Workes. Trans. T.Johnson. London, 1634.
- Paynell, Thomas. Regimen sanitatis Salerni. London, 1528.
- , A Moche Profitable Treatise Against the Pestilence. London, 1534.
- Perkins, Williams. A Golden Chaine, or The Description of Theologie written in Latine, and translated by R.Hill. Cambridge, 1597.
- Phayre, Thomas. The Regiment of Life. London, 1545.
- Plato. The Republic of Plato. Trans. Francis MacDonald Cornford. 1941. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Quarles, Francis. "Emblem 88." A Century of Emblems, an introductory anthology. Ed. Charles Moseley.

- Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989.
- Rich, Barnaby. The Excellency of Good Women. London, 1613.
- , The Honestie of this Age. London, 1614.
- Royal Proclamations (1602-1609). British Library c.112.h1.
- Seneca. The Elder Seneca I 'Controversiae i-vi'. Trans. and Ed. Michael Winterbottom. London: William Heinemann, 1974.
- Shakespeare, William. The Complete Works. Gen. Eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Sidney, Philip. An Apology For Poetry. The Selected Poetry and Prose of Sidney. Ed. David Kalstone. Holborn: Signet Classic, 1970.
- Spenser, Edmund. The Faerie Queene. Ed. A.C.Hamilton. London: Longman, 1977.
- Starkey, Thomas. A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset. Ed. T.F.Mayer. London: Royal Historical Society, University College, 1989.
- Stow, John. The Survey of London. 1598. London: Dent, 1956.
- Stuart, James. Basilicon Doron. 1599. Facsimile of 1st ed. Menston, Yorkshire: The Scolar Press Ltd., 1969.
- Strype, John. Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it. Vol.1. London, 1721. 3 vols.
- Stubbes, Philip. Stubbes, Anatomy of the Abuses in Shakespeare's Youth. Ed. F.J.Furnivall. London: New Shakespeare Society, 1877-79.
- Four Supplications, 1529-1553. Ed. F.J.Furnivall. Early English Text Society. London: N.Trubner & Co., 1871.
- Thucydides. The Peloponnesian War. Trans. Rex Warner. 1954. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1966.
- Townshend, H. Historical Collections, an Exact Account of the Last Four Parliaments of Elizabeth. London, 1680.
- Turner, William. A new herball. London, 1551.
- , A newe booke of Spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande. N.p. 1555.

Tyndale, William. The Obedience of a Christian Man. Works. London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1831.

Vaughan, William. Naturall and artificial directions for health. London, 1600.

Von Hutten, Ulrich. De Morbo Gallico. Trans. Thomas Paynell. London, 1533.

Wager, Lewis. A new Enterlude ... entreating of the Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene. London, 1567.

"A Warning to be ware." The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, Part II. Ed. F.J.Furnivall. Vol.2. Early English Text Society. London: Kegan Paul, 1901. pp.719-20. 2 vols.

Webster, John. The White Devil. Ed. Elizabeth M. Brennan. Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedies: A New Mermaid Anthology. Gen. Ed. Brian Gibbons. Tonbridge: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1984.

Withers, George. A Collection of Emblemes Ancient and Modern. London, 1635.

Woolton, John. The Christian Manuell, or the life and maners of true Christians. London, 1576.

Secondary Sources

Ackerknecht, E.H. Medicine and Ethnology: selected essays. 1945. Eds. H.H.Walser and H.M.Koelbing. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1971.

Agnew, Jean-Christophe. Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Allen, P.S. Selections from Erasmus Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1918.

Altman, Joel. The Tudor Play of Mind. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1978.

Anderson, Marvin W. Evangelical Foundations, religion in England, 1378-1683. American University Studies, series VII. New York: Peter Lang, 1987.

Andreski, S. Syphilis, Puritanism and Witch Hunts. Houndmills: Macmillan, 1989.

Andrews, Kenneth. Trade, plunder and settlement (1460-1630). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

- Anselment, Raymond A. "Seventeenth-century Pox: The Medical and Literary Realities of Venereal Disease." Seventeenth Century 3-4 (1988): pp.189-211.
- Arbib, Michael, and Mary Hesse. The Construction of Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Archer, Ian W. The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Axton, Marie. The Queen's Two Bodies. London: Royal Historical Society, 1977.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. Rabelais and his World. [Moscow, 1965]. Trans. Helen Iswolsky. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1968.
- Baldwin, T.W. William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greek. Vol.1. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944. 2 vols.
- Barroll, Leeds. Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Bataille, George. Eroticism. 1962. London: Marion Boyars, 1987.
- Battenhouse, Roy. "Tudor Doctrine and the Tragedy of Richard II." Rice University Studies 60.2 (1974): pp.31-53.
- Baugh, Albert. A Literary History of England. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1948.
- Beier, A.L. and R.Finlay, ed. The Making of the Metropolis, London 1500-1700. London: Longman, 1986.
- Beier, A.L. Masterless Men: the vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640. London: Methuen, 1985.
- Belsey, Catherine. "Desire's Excess and the English Renaissance Theatre." Zimmerman pp.84-102.
- Benedek, Thomas G. "The Influence of Ulrich Von Hutten's Medical Descriptions and Metaphorical Use of Medicine." Bulletin of the History of Medicine 66.1 (1992): pp.355-75.
- Benjamin, A., G.Cantor, J.Christie, eds. The Figural and the Literal. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.

- Bentley, Gregory. Shakespeare and the New Disease: The Dramatic Function of Syphilis in "Troilus and Cressida", "Measure for Measure", "Timon of Athens". New York: Peter Lang, 1989.
- Bindoff, S.T. Tudor England. Middlesex: Penguin, 1950.
- Bloch, R.Howard, and Frances Ferguson, eds. Misogyny, Misandry, and Misanthropy. California: University of California Press, 1989.
- Bloom, Allan. "Richard II." Shakespeare as Political Thinker. Eds. J.Alvis and T.West. Durham N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1981. pp.51-61.
- Boehrer, Bruce T. "Early Modern Syphilis." Journal of the History of Sexuality 1.2 (1990): pp.197-214.
- Bono, James J. "Science, Discourse, and Literature: The Role/Rule of Metaphor in Science." Literature and Science. Ed. Stuart Peterfreund. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990. pp.59-89.
- Bowers, Rick. "A Woman Killed With Kindness: Plausibility on a Smaller Scale." Studies in English Literature 24.2 (1984): pp.293-306.
- , "Antidote to the Plague: Thomas Dekker's Story-Telling in The Wonderfull Yeare." English Studies 73 (1992): pp.229-39.
- Boyle, Marjorie O'Rourke. Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus's Civil Dispute With Luther. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Brody, Saul Nathaniel. The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature. London: Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Brooks, Harold F. "Shakespeare and The Governor, Bk.II, Ch.xiii. Parallels with Richard II and the More Addition." Shakespeare Quarterly 14 (1963): pp.195-99.
- Brustein, Robert. "The Monstrous Regiment of Women." Renaissance and Modern Essays. Ed. G.R.Hibbard. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966. pp.35-50.
- Bucknill, John Charles. The Medical Knowledge of Shakespeare. London: Longman & Co., 1860.
- Burford, E.J. Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels. London: Peter Owen, 1976.
- Cameron, Euan. The European Reformation. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

- Campbell, D.J. Comical Satyre and Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida". San Marino: Huntington Library, 1938.
- Chambers, E.K., and W.W.Gregg, eds. Dramatic Records of the City of London. Collections: Part I. The Malone Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1907.
- Chapman, Allan. "Astrological medicine." Webster, Health, Medicine and Mortality pp.275-300.
- Cippola, Carlo M. Miasmas and Disease. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Clark, Sandra. The Elizabethan Pamphleteers. London: The Athlone Press, 1983.
- Clarke, M.L. Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.
- Clemen, Wolfgang. The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery. 1951. 2nd ed. London: Methuen, 1987.
- Clendening, L. Source Book of Medical History. New York & London: P.B.Hoeber, 1942.
- Colman, E.A.M. The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare. London: Longman, 1974.
- Crawfurd, Raymond. Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art. London: Oxford University Press, 1914.
- Creighton, Charles. A History of Epidemics in Britain. Revised ed. Vol.1. London: Frank Cass, 1965. 2 vols.
- Davenport-Hines, Richard. Sex, Death and Punishment. London: Collins, 1990.
- Davies, M.G. The Enforcement of the English Apprenticeship 1563-1642. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- The Dictionary of National Biography. 1917. Eds. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. Reprint. London: Humphrey Milford, 1921-22.
- Dodds, E.R. The Greeks and the Irrational. California: University of California Press, 1973.
- Dollimore, Jonathan. Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries. Brighton: the Harvester Press, 1984.
- Dollimore, Jonathan, and Alan Sinfield. Political Shakespeare: New essays in cultural materialism.

- Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985.
- Dorius, R.J. "A Little More Than A Little." Shakespeare Quarterly 11 (1960): pp.13-26.
- Douglas, Mary. Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo. 1966. London: Ark, 1984.
- Eagleton, Terry. "The historian as body-snatcher." Times Literary Supplement 18 Jan. 1991: p.7.
- Eliot, T.S. Elizabethan Essays. London: Faber and Faber, 1927.
- Ellis-Fermor, Una. The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation. London: Methuen, 1936.
- Farmer, John S., ed. Dramatic Writings of John Bale. London: the Early English Drama Society, 1907.
- Fernandez, James W. Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Fildes, Valerie. Wet Nursing. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Finlay, Roger, and Beatrice Shearer, "Population growth and suburban expansion." Beier and Finlay, The Making of the Metropolis pp.37-59.
- Foa, Anna. "The New and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis (1494-1530)." Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective. Eds. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero. Trans. A.M. and C.Gallucci. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990. pp.26-45.
- Fortes, Meyer. Foreword. Loudon pp. ix-xx.
- Foster, Frank Freeman. The Politics of Stability. London: Royal Historical Society, 1977.
- Foucault, Michel. The Use of Pleasure: the History of Sexuality, Volume Two. [Paris, 1984]. Trans. Robert Hurley. London: Penguin Books, 1992.
- Frye, Northrop. Anatomy of Criticism. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Gasper, Julia. The Dragon and the Dove. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Gibson, J. Modern Medicine. Oxford: Blackwell, 1972.
- Gilman, Ernest B. Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English

- Reformation. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Gilman, Sander. Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. "Montaigne, Cannibals and Grottoes." Lecture. University College London. 16 October 1992.
- Girard, Rene. "The Politics of Desire in Troilus and Cressida." Shakespeare and The Question of Theory. Eds. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman. London: Methuen, 1985. pp.188-208.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. Shakespearean Negotiations: the circulation of social energy in Renaissance England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- , Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Greer, Germaine. The Female Eunuch. 1970. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1971.
- Gregg, Charles T. Plague: An Ancient Disease in the Twentieth Century. Rev. ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.
- Gregg, Kate L. Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economic and Social Backgrounds. University of Washington Publications in Language, vol.2. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1924. pp.55-112.
- Grell, Ole Peter, and Andrew Cunningham, eds. Medicine and the Reformation. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Gurr, Andrew. Playgoing in Shakespeare's London. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- , "Paradigms or conceits? Metaphors of the State in Sixteenth-Century England." Literature and History 3.1 (1994): pp.1-15.
- Hale, David G. The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance England. The Hague: Mouton, 1971.
- Halliwell, James, ed. Dictionary of Archaic Words. 1850. London: Bracken Books, 1989.
- Hamilton, Donna B. "The State of Law in Richard II." Shakespeare Quarterly 34 (1983): pp.5-17.
- Harley, David N. "Medical Metaphors in English Moral Theology, 1560-1660." Journal of the History of

- Medicine 48.4 (1993): pp.396-435.
- Haselkorn, Anne, and Betty Travitsky. The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1990.
- Helman, Cecil G. Culture, Health and Illness: an introduction for health professionals. Bristol: Wright, 1984.
- Helms, Lorraine. "The Saint in the Brothel: Or, Eloquence Rewarded." Shakespeare Quarterly 41.3 (1990): pp.319-32.
- Herzlich, Claudine and Janine Pierret. Illness and Self in Society. Trans. Elbory Forster. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- Hill, Christopher. Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution. 1965. New York, Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Hoeniger, David F. Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992.
- Holderness, Graham. "Shakespeare's History: Richard II. Literature and History 7-8 (1981-82): pp.2-24.
- Howard, Jean E. "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies." English Literary Renaissance 16 (1986): pp.13-43.
- Hoy, Cyrus. Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to Texts in "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker" edited by Fredson Bowers. Vol.2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. 4 vols.
- Hull, Suzanne W. Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982.
- Hunt, Mary Leland. Thomas Dekker: A Study. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1911.
- Hunter, Kathryn Montgomery. Doctors' Stories: The Narrative Structure of Medical Knowledge. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Hutson, Lorna. Thomas Nashe in Context. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Jacquart, Danielle, and Claude Thomasset. Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages. 1985. Trans. Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988.

- Jardine, Lisa. Still Harping On Daughters. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1983.
- Johnson, Mark. The Body in the Mind: the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987.
- Jones-Davies, M.T. Un peintre de la vie Londonienne: Thomas Dekker. Vol.2. Paris: Collection des Etudes Anglaises; Libraire Marcel Didier, 1958. 2 vols.
- Jordanova, L.J., ed. Languages of Nature. London: Free Association Books, 1986.
- Kantorowicz, E.H. The King's Two Bodies: a study in medieval political theology. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Keach, William. Elizabethan Erotic Narratives. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1977.
- Kelly-Gadol, Joan. "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" Becoming Visible: Women in European History. Ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977. pp.137-64.
- Kern Paster, Gail. The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Kernan, Alvin. The Cankered Muse. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- King, John. English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Kipple, Kenneth F., ed. The Cambridge World History of Human Disease. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Kocher, Paul H. Science and Religion in Elizabethan England. California: Huntington Library Publications, 1953.
- Kusukawa, Sachiko. "Melanchthon and astrology for Lutheran medics." Grell and Cunningham pp.33-56.
- Leavy, Barbara Fass. To Blight With Plague: Studies in a Literary Theme. New York and London: New York University Press, 1992.
- Leggatt, Alexander. Jacobean Public Theatre. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. Myth and Meaning. Toronto:

- University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Lewis C.S. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954.
- Lloyd, G.E.R., ed. Introduction. Hippocratic Writings. 1950. Trans. J.Chadwick and W.N.Mann. London: Penguin Classics, 1983. pp.9-59.
- Loudon, J.B., ed. Social Anthropology and Medicine. 1976. London: Academic Press Inc. Ltd, 1979.
- MacDonald, Michael. Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover Case. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Mack, Arien, ed. In Time of Plague. New York and London: New York University Press, 1991.
- Mambretti, Catherine Cole. "William Bullein and the 'Lively Fashions' in Tudor Medical Literature." Clio Medica 9.4 (1974): pp.285-97.
- Manning, Roger B. Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.
- Marcus, Leah S. Puzzling Shakespeare: local reading and its discontents. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Marks, Elaine, and Isabelle de Courtivron. New French Feminisms: An Anthology. Brighton: Harvester, 1981.
- McCutcheon, Elizabeth. "William Bullein's Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence: A Sixteenth-Century Anatomy." Miscellanea moreana. Eds. Clare M.Murphy, Henri Gibaud, Mario A.D.Cesare. Binghampton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989. pp.341-59.
- McLuskie, Kathleen. "The patriarchal bard." Dollimore and Sinfield, pp.88-108.
- , Renaissance Dramatists. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989.
- , "Lawless desires well tempered." Zimmermann pp.103-26.
- , Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists. Houndmills: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1994.
- McNeill, William. Plagues and People. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/ Doubleday, 1976.
- Meiss, Millard. Painting in Florence and Siena After the

- Black Death. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951.
- Meyers, Jeffrey. Disease and the Novel 1880-1960. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.
- Miceli, C.di. "Sickness and Physic in Some Plays by Middleton and Webster." Cahiers Elizabethan 23-26 (1983-84): pp.41-78.
- Mitchell, William. "William Bullein, Elizabethan Physician and Author." Medical History 3 (1959): pp.188-200.
- Mort, Frank. Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Mullaney, Steven. The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England. London: University of Chicago, 1988.
- Norbrook, David. Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- , "Macbeth and the Politics of Historiography." Politics of Discourse. Eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. 78-116.
- Nutton, Vivian. "The Seeds of Disease: An Explanation of Contagion and Infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance." Medical History 27 (1983): pp.1-34.
- , "Social history of Graeco-Roman medicine." Wear, Medicine in Society pp.15-58.
- , "Wittenberg Anatomy." Grell and Cunningham pp.11-32.
- Owst, G.R. Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933.
- Palliser, D.M. The Age of Elizabeth. New York: Longman, 1983.
- Palmer, Richard. "The Church, leprosy and plague in medieval and early modern Europe." The Church and Healing. Ed. W.J.Sheils. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982. pp.79-99.
- Panofsky, E. "Homage to Fracastoro in a Germano-Flemish Composition of about 1590." Nederlands Kunthistorisch Jaarboek xii (1961): pp.1-33.
- Parker, Patricia. Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).

- Partridge, Eric. Shakespeare's Bawdy. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 1956.
- Passmore, R., and J.S. Robson, eds. A Companion to Medical Studies. Vol.3. Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publishers, 1974. 3 vols.
- Pelling, Margaret. "Appearance and reality: barber-surgeons, the body and disease." Beier and Finlay, The Making of the Metropolis pp.82-112.
- Pendry, E.D. Thomas Dekker. London: Edward Arnold, 1967.
- Peter, John. Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956.
- Porter, Roy, and Dorothy Porter. In Sickness and in Health: The British Experience 1650-1850. London: Fourth Estate, 1988.
- Porter, Roy. "Ever since Eve: the fear of contagion." Times Literary Supplement May 27-June 2 1988: p.582.
- , ed. The Popularization of Medicine. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Price, W.H. The English Patents of Monopoly. London: Constable, 1906.
- Quétel, Claude. History of Syphilis. 1986. Trans. Juddith Braddock and Brian Pike. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Quinn, Naomi. "The Cultural Basis of Metaphor." Fernandez, pp.56-93.
- Randolph, Mary Claire. "The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory: Its Possible Relationships and Implications." Studies in Philology 38 (1941): pp.125-57.
- Relihan, Constance. "Liminal Geography: Pericles and the Politics of Place." Philological Quarterly 71.3 (1992): pp.281-99.
- Ricks, Christopher. "Doctor Faustus and Hell on Earth." Essays in Criticism 35 (1985): pp.101-120.
- Rolleston, J.D. "Venereal Disease in Literature." British Journal of Venereal Diseases 10 (1934): pp.147-73.
- Rosenkratz, Barbara Gutmann. "Case Histories--An Introduction." Mack pp.75-78.
- Ross, Woodburn O., ed. Introduction. Middle English Sermons. London: Oxford University Press, 1940.

pp.xv-lxvi.

Rubenstein, Frankie. "They were Not Such Good Years."
Shakespeare Quarterly 40 (1989): pp.70-74.

Russell, Conrad. The Causes of the English Civil War.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Russell, D. and M.Winterbottom, eds. Ancient Literary
Criticism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Sampson, George. The Concise Cambridge History of English
Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1941.

Sandys, J. Shakespeare's England. Vol.1. Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 1917. 2 vols.

Sawday, J. "Bodies by Art Fashioned." Unpublished PhD
Thesis. University of London, 1988.

Selden, Raman. "Richard II and the politics of kingship."
Critical Essays on "Richard II". Ed. L.Cookson and
B.Loughrey. Essex: Longman Literature Guides, 1989.
pp.104-11.

Sharpe, Kevin. Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England.
London: Pinter, 1989.

A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England,
Scotland, and Ireland. 1475-1640. Eds. A.W.Pollard
and E.R.Redgrave. 2nd ed. Rev. 3 vols. London: The
Bibliographical Society, 1976-91.

Sinfield, Alan. Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660.
London: Croom Helm, 1983.

Showalter, Elaine. "Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Fiction
of the Fin de Siecle." Sex, Politics, and Science in
the Nineteenth-Century Novel. Ed. Ruth B.Yeazell.
Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986.
pp.88-111.

Sigerist, Henry. Civilization and Disease. 1943.
Chicago: Phoenix, 1962.

Simpson, R.R. Shakespeare and Medicine. Edinburgh and
London: E.& S.Livingstone, 1959.

Sinfield, Alan. Literature in Protestant England 1560-
1660. London: Croom Helm, 1983.

Siraisi, Nancy G. Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine:
An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1990.

- Skinner, Quentin. "Political philosophy." The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy. Eds. Charles Schmitt and Quentin Skinner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. pp.389-452.
- Slack, Paul. "Mirrors of health and treasures of poor men: the uses of the vernacular medical literature of Tudor England." Webster, Health, Medicine and Mortality pp.237-73.
- , "Poverty and Social Regulation in Elizabethan England." The Reign of Elizabeth I. Ed. Christopher Haigh. 1984. London: Macmillan, 1991. pp.221-41.
- , The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England. 1985. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- , "Metropolitan Government in Crisis." Beier and Finlay, The Making of the Metropolis pp.60-81.
- Sontag, Susan. Illness As Metaphor. New York: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux, 1977.
- , Aids and its Metaphors. London: Penguin, 1989.
- Spurgeon, Caroline. Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells us. 1935. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939.
- Spurgeon, Dickie A. Introduction. Tudor Translations of the Colloquies of Erasmus (1536-1584). New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, Inc., 1972. vii-x.
- Steel, David. "Plague Writing: From Boccaccio to Camus." Journal of European Studies xi (1981) pp.88-110.
- Stephanson, Raymond. "The Plague Narratives of Defoe and Camus." Modern Language Quarterly 48 (1987): pp.224-41.
- Thayer, Calvin. Shakespearean politics, government and misgovernment in the great histories. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983.
- Thompson, E.P. "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century." Past and Present 50 (1971): pp.76-136.
- Tillyard, E.M.W. The Elizabethan World Picture. 1943. 2nd ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.
- , Shakespeare's History Plays. London: Chatto and Windus, 1948.
- Traub, Valerie. Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama. London: Routledge,

1992.

Turner, James Grantham. One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Verano, J., and D.Ubelaker. Disease and Demography in the Americas. Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1992.

Vickers, Nancy. "'The blazon of sweet beauty's best': Shakespeare's Lucrece." Shakespeare and the Question of Theory. Eds. P.Parker and G.Hartman. New York: Methuen, 1985. pp.95-112.

Waage, Frederick O. Thomas Dekker's Pamphlets, 1603-9, and Jacobean Popular Literature. Vol.2. Salzburg: Institut Fur Englische Sprache, 1977. 2 vols.

Watson, Foster. The English Grammar Schools to 1660. London: Frank Cass, 1968.

Waugh, M.A. "Venereal diseases in sixteenth-century England." Medical History 17 (1973): pp.192-199.

Wear, Andrew. "Puritan perceptions of illness in seventeenth-century England." Patients and Practitioners: lay perceptions of medicine in pre-industrial society. Ed. Roy Porter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. pp.55-59.

---, "Early Modern Madness." Lecture. Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine. London, 23 Jan. 1992.

---, ed. Medicine in Society: Historical Essays. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

---, "Making sense of the environment in early modern England." Wear, Medicine in Society pp.119-47.

---, "The popularization of medicine in early modern England." Porter, The Popularization of Medicine pp.17-41.

---, "The History of Personal Hygiene." Companion Encyclopedia of The History of Medicine. Eds. W.F.Bynum and Roy Porter. Vol.1. London & New York: Routledge, 1993. pp.1283-308. 2 vols.

Webster, Charles. The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660. London: Duckworth, 1975.

---, ed. Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

- , "Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine." Webster, Health, Medicine and Mortality pp.301-34.
- , "Paracelsus: medicine as popular protest." Grell and Cunningham pp.57-77.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. "Pestilence and Middle English Literature: Friar John Grimestone's Poems on Death." The Black Death: the Impact of the Fourteenth-Century Plague. Ed. Daniel Williman. New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1982. pp.131-57.
- White, Paul Whitfield. Theatre and Reformation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Wickham, Glynne. Early English Stages. Vol.2. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963. 3.vols.
- Wilders, John. The BBC TV Shakespeare: Pericles. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1984.
- Williams, Raymond. Marxism and Literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Wilson, F.P., ed. The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.
- , The Plague in Shakespeare's London. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.
- Wright, Herbert G. "Some Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Writers on Plague." Essays and Studies 6 (1953): pp.41-55.
- Wright, P., and A.Treacher, eds. The Problem of Medical Knowledge. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982.
- Wright, Thomas. Queen Elizabeth and her Times: A Series of Original Letters. Vol.1. London: Henry Colburn, 1838. 2 vols.
- Ziegler, Philip. The Black Death. 1969. New York: Harper Torch Books, 1971.
- Zimmerman, Susan. Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage. New York and London: Routledge, 1992.

